

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME IV.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XXIV.

DECEMBER, 1885

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE "THÉODICÉE" OF LEIBNITZ. III. CRITICISM. <i>Professor Torrey</i> . . .	493
2. DAVID—A STUDY FOR ORATORIO OR CANTATA. <i>E. P. Parker, D. D.</i> . . .	512
3. NATURAL LAW IN THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER. <i>Rev. John H. Denison</i> .	525
4. THE OLD RADICALISM AND THE NEW: TWO BIRMINGHAM LEADERS. <i>Rev. Edward C. Towne</i> . . . . .	545
5. THE FREEDMAN'S CHILDREN AT SCHOOL. <i>Professor Bumstead</i> . . . . .	550
6. EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY. <i>Lyman Abbott, D. D.</i> . . . . .	561
7. EDITORIAL.	
Progressive Orthodoxy. VIII. Conclusion. Christianity Absolute and Universal . .	568
A Preacher of Righteousness . . . . .	581
The Andover Review for 1886 . . . . .	586
8. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES . . . . .	587
De Schweinitz's History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum. — J. Rendel	
Harris's Three Pages of the Bryennios Manuscript. — Spence's The Teaching of the	
Twelve Apostles. — Hitchcock and Brown's <i>Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων</i> . — Schaff's	
The Oldest Church Manual, called The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. — Sabatier's	
<i>Διδαχή τῶν ἑβ' Ἀποστόλων</i> . — Beers's Nathaniel Parker Willis.	
9. BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .	600

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*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the  
coöperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty,*

*Professors JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,*

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FOR 1886.

The success which has attended the publication of the ANDOVER REVIEW for the past two years has led to its establishment upon a permanent financial basis. Commencing the year 1886 with increased resources, the REVIEW will be enlarged with each monthly issue to 112 pages, making an aggregate for the year of 1344 pages, and the annual price of subscription will be \$4.00; single copies, 35 cents. *Until January 1 subscriptions will be received at the present rate, \$3.00.*

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Educational discussions will be continued, notably that introduced by Professor Palmer, of Harvard, in the November number.

The Moral Aspects of Literary Topics will be considered in special papers.

A Series of articles upon Church Architecture, by Professor Churchill, will begin in an early number.

The Editorial and other departments will be conducted as heretofore, with increased attention to Book Reviews.

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THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN. *Mr. John F. Crowell.*

### EDITORIAL.

Progressive Orthodoxy. III. The Atonement.—Christian Union and the Unity of the Church.—England's Injustice to Mr. Gladstone.

### BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

Suggestions on the Rise and Development of the Messianic Hope. *Professor J. P. Peters.*

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Naville's *The Store City of Pithom*.—Cook's *Sievers's An Old English Grammar*.—Hosmer's *Samuel Adams*.—Stalker's *The Life of Jesus Christ*.—Upton's *Money in Politics*.

## AUGUST.

THE LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN. *Rev. Francis B. Hornbrooke.*

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Progressive Orthodoxy. IV. Eschatology. BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

"The Disciple whom Jesus loved," with some Remarks on the Passages where these Words are used. *Theodore D. Woolsey, D. D., LL. D.*

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## SEPTEMBER.

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY TOWN. IV. *Rev. Samuel W. Dike.*

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General Notes. *Professor Taylor*.—The El Fayoum Manuscripts, with a *Résumé* of the Discussion concerning the Alleged Gospel Fragment. *Professor Woodruff.*

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## OCTOBER.

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THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY. *Hamilton Andrews Hill.*

COMMERCE, CIVILIZATION, AND CHRISTIANITY IN THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER. *W. Barrows, D. D.*

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# THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

## NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The Andover Review for November opens with a paper on "The New Education," by Professor Palmer, of Harvard, which is a vigorous defense. It is to be followed in the succeeding numbers with further discussions by other teachers. This is putting a review to good service. The editorial work is full, rich, and spicy as usual. — *The Independent* (New York).

People look with expectancy to the Andover Review for fresh and popular treatment of social and ethical subjects, as well as for scholarly criticisms and able handling of theological and philosophical problems. — *Christian Union* (New York).

The Review closes its first year with a record of work in the sphere of theology, philosophy, criticism, and social discussion which has never been surpassed in English periodical literature, and has made a strong impression upon the religious and thoughtful life of the whole country. Its more original articles have gone far to instruct the minds and change the opinions of the leaders of thought. — *Boston Herald*.

The Andover Review of March has a very sensible editorial article on Common School Methods. It would be useful to take this essay, convert it into a tract, and circulate it widely among teachers, parents, and Boards of Education. It certainly would give them something to think of. — *New York Observer*.

The Andover Review is maintaining the high position which it took in the religious and intellectual world with its first number. In our judgment it has no equal in the field which it occupies. — *The Advance* (Chicago).

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In every number we find something to be especially preserved. — *The Churchman* (New York).

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

## NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The Andover Review, which has reached the end of the second year of its life, has come to the front of periodicals of its class in America. Primarily religious and theological, it is also literary and full of articles of practical worth. The sudden eminence to which this review has sprung is partly due to the frankness and fearlessness with which views more in accord with modern thought than with ancient dogma are set forth. For though Andover is orthodox its staff of theological professors are not sleepily orthodox. — *Morning Herald* (Halifax).

The departments of Biblical and Historical Criticism and of Theological and Religious Intelligence are unusually good. The Andover Review has reached the front rank, and maintains its place. — *The Christian Advocate*.

In the Andover Review rational orthodoxy has a strong and fearless champion. While it is ready to "prove all things," it is not afraid to "hold fast that which is good," simply because it happens to be old. The great fault of most of the apostles of new ideas is that they are unable to see anything good in that which is old. The Andover Review is supposed to be the mouthpiece of the new theology; but it never fails to do substantial justice to the old theology, a virtue which a great many so-called leaders of modern thought might do well to imitate. — *New York Tribune*.

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The Andover Review continues to be manly, frank, thoughtful, and progressive. It is becoming evident that the Andover theology, as at present, is a new leaven rather than a new departure. — *Springfield Republican*.

No recent religious review has assumed prominence more swiftly or deserved it more thoroughly. — *Philadelphia Press*.

The Andover Review is deservedly popular, because it meets a general want and never fails to fulfill its high promise. Its matter, always varied, is adapted to a variety of scholarly tastes. — *The Messenger* (Philadelphia).

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The Andover Review, an American religious and theological monthly, which deserves attention and welcome on this side the Atlantic. — *The Christian World* (London).

The September Andover Review brings to a close a series of well-considered articles on "The Religious Problem of the Country Town" — especially as they have it in the growingly heterogeneous towns of New England. This number of the Andover is, like its predecessors, an able and readable addition to our review literature. — *The Evangelist* (New York).

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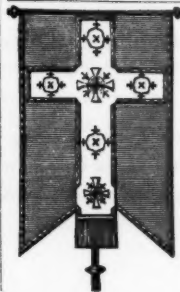
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THE  
ANDOVER REVIEW:  
*A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.*

VOL. IV.—DECEMBER, 1885.—No. XXIV.

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THE "THÉODICÉE" OF LEIBNITZ.

III. CRITICISM.

THERE are three ideas which ultimately control human thought: the True, the Beautiful, the Good. But although each is an original impulse and a final authority, each is limited to a certain sphere of its own, and the sphere of each has its rank. Primacy belongs to the Good. In dignity, Truth is above Beauty, but the Good is above both. As Plato insisted, the Good is the sun in the kingdom of ideas. Accordingly, any solution of the problem of evil which does not satisfy the demands of this supreme idea is inadmissible. The theodicy which adjusts itself completely to the unconditional requirements of the moral reason is the only one which can be entertained.

At the beginning of the "Théodicée" of Leibnitz, and in the course of the argument, the author suggests that the presence of evil in the world may be explained upon æsthetic principles. The explanation does not here turn on the intrinsic nature of evil, but on its relation to the whole system of things. What is in itself bad may be tolerated if it serve to set the good in relief, and so enhance its value and impressiveness. Discordant notes or passages, if judiciously placed in a piece of music, will heighten the effect of harmony. All art requires contrasts, and beauty a foil. The grotesque, the absurd, the ugly have their place and function. Even a world-harmony may be the more impressive upon the æsthetic sense if it be disturbed at intervals by the notes of sorrow and of sin, or even if there be heard throughout the solemn undertone of pain and guilt. There is, however, one decisive objection to this way of looking at the matter,—the problem of evil is not a question of taste. The beautiful is not the principle which here finds legitimate application. Whether evil

shall be allowed to exist or not cannot be determined by artistic considerations. The ethical element does not admit of subordination to the æsthetic. The good does not borrow leave to be of beauty; neither will it permit its moral opposite to exist for beauty's sake.

But, in truth, Leibnitz does not lay much stress upon this solution. His main reliance is logic and metaphysics. He makes his principal appeal to a formal law of thought, namely, non-contradiction, and to the principle of sufficient reason. The determination of the intrinsic nature of evil is the first and the essential element in the solution of the problem. This determination is reached *a priori*. Assuming the good as known, the evil is determined simply as the contradictory of the good: it is the non-good. Moreover, since the good is identified with the real, evil is the non-real. It is essentially defect, negation. The concrete opposition which exists between good and evil is here viewed as merely formal, abstract. Moral opposites are represented as essentially logical opposites. The three forms in which evil is found in experience to exist, physical evil or suffering, moral evil or sin, and metaphysical evil or imperfection, limitation, are all resolved into the latter. Each is a form of imperfection, deficiency of being. Now inasmuch as the only form of opposition which pure logic knows of is the contradictory, to that form the opposition between good and evil must be subjected if the nature of either is to be determined by the understanding alone. And provided it be assumed that the laws which regulate the exercise of this faculty are positive and not merely negative criteria of truth, there is no other possible way of conceiving the case. But the result reached proves the futility of the method and the error of the fundamental assumption. We have simply determined what evil is not, not what it is, and we have been able so to determine it only because we were in possession already of a positive knowledge of its opposite. To make any application of the law of non-contradiction one of the terms in opposition must be known, and the other is then known merely as its negation. By some method other than that of pure understanding we have come into the possession of the idea of the good, and to the practical conviction of its positive reality in experience. Now if from this positive knowledge of the good we are required by pure logic alone to determine the nature of evil, all we can say is what Leibnitz says, evil is the non-good, and, if the good alone be real, evil is the unreal. But surely something must be wrong if the necessary outcome is that evil is merely illusion.

A metaphysical or purely logical solution of this problem is no less unsatisfactory than an æsthetic one. It is, indeed, true that all our thinking on any subject must conform to the primary laws of thought, — it is a mere truism to say this; but to make of these laws which, in a negative manner, regulate the exercise of the analytical understanding, principles by means of which to determine *positively* the nature of anything is to fall into inevitable error and confusion. This may be said to be the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* which vitiates the whole procedure of Leibnitz in dealing with the problem of evil.

Leibnitz is indeed right in taking for his starting-point the idea of the good. It is manifestly unsatisfactory to define the good as the not-evil. If either of the two can present a claim to be the original positive term, it is surely the good. And it is only by virtue of the illumination which this idea brings with it that we can attain to a true conception of the nature of evil. Our practical estimate of the latter is conditioned upon our experience and apprehension of the former. In Dorner's phrase, "Bonum est interpretamentum boni malique." (So Julius Müller, "Bonum est index sui malique.")

And again, Leibnitz may be said to be right, in one view, in asserting that the good alone is the real. It is for intuition the primal and fundamental reality. It is the essential element. Evil is the accidental. But for experience each is real, each is positive; each is, indeed, for pure thought, not the other; but for experience it is more, each is itself. An imperfect being is yet a being, a bad action is a real action, a painful experience is an experience of pain. The opposition of good and evil is contradictory, but it is more, it is contrary, because each is positive. The latter kind of opposition always contains the former. The contradiction is simply an abstract from the fullness of the contrary. Having had the perceptions of sweet and bitter tastes we can, indeed, affirm that the one is not the other; we can find the contradictory in the contrary, but we cannot find the sweet in the bitter, nor the bitter in the sweet. Each must be known through sensations which are peculiar to itself. Evil has thus its own nature and reality, which it asserts in consciousness as pain, and before conscience as guilt. The problem of evil cannot be solved simply by an abstraction from the fullness of this contrariety. The sharp opposition felt and known as real, and as the most complete which can be named, cannot be treated as if it existed for abstract thought alone. The problem of evil is to reconcile with infinite goodness the presence,

in a world which is its product, of forms of being not simply which do not answer to the idea of the good, but which have an alien nature of their own, and as hostile powers strive against the good. The problem is a real one, and the real elements in it must not be ignored. In dealing with it Leibnitz changed its nature. Accepting a definition of evil (as old, at least, as Augustine), a definition which denies the reality of evil by making all forms of it to consist essentially in negation or limitation, evil is made inseparable from creation. A created product must necessarily be finite. It must, therefore, partake of metaphysical imperfection, and this is essential evil. Therefore, evil cannot be excluded from the divine activity in creation. But to say this is in one breath to assert and to deny its existence. To say God may do evil is to contradict the subject by the predicate; the being who sins is no longer divine. But the truth is, evil and limitation are not identical. Finitude may be essential to the possibility of any form of evil, but it is not itself evil, nor is it a necessary cause of evil. Finite beings who sin are not sinful by virtue of their finiteness, nor is the conception of a sinless finite being at all self-contradictory. Moreover, if the essence of evil is limitation, defect of being, then it follows that the greater the degree of limitation the greater the evil. Beings below man would be increasingly evil, down to the lowest orders; and beings above man up to the highest would not be exempt from evil; and inasmuch as God himself if He create must of necessity create the finite, upon the Infinite Source of all being, or at least upon a nature of things to which the Creator himself is conceived to be subject, is laid, by this theory, the whole responsibility for the evil which exists in his universe. To attempt to escape this conclusion by affirming, as Leibnitz does, that the divine activity in creation has relation only to that which is positive in existence is vain, because it still remains true that the positive in this case is the limited. To be what it is as other than the Creator, and as other than the rest of finite existence, each created being is, as such, necessarily limited. By creating merely *one* being, God imposes limitation upon existence, and limitations increase as creation extends. The metaphysical view of evil may appear to simplify the problem, but it really complicates it, and makes a solution impossible. This doctrine of the negative nature of evil, although it has played an important part in theology since the time of Augustine, who favors this view, appears to explain evil by explaining it away. It seems to make of it an illusion. But pain is not an illusion, neither is

guilt. Each is as real as its opposite, pleasure, virtue. The philosopher may define suffering as metaphysical evil, but the victim is not eased by the definition. Moral evil, sin, cannot without contradiction be ascribed to God. It must, however, have its source in personality. It must belong to the free activity of some being. It ever lies in the nature of freedom as a possibility. To make it *privatio*, defect of being, is to attach it by necessity to creation, not to the created being, where alone we may, without contradiction, find its source. Sin is strictly a creation within a creation. God may bring into existence a being who can create that which God himself cannot create. But this paradox has its parallel in human life. A father does not, and cannot, create the moral character of a son who is yet, however he may differ from them morally, the offspring of his parents. The nature and the origin of moral evil are distinct questions, but the theory which resolves all forms of evil into metaphysical evil obliterates this distinction, or it answers the one question by answering the other and forces the dilemma upon us of denying either the being of God or the reality of evil.

We have considered evil as it appears in the "Théodicée" under two aspects: the æsthetic, in which it may be tolerated, as by its discordant nature enhancing by contrast the general harmony, — and the intellectual, or metaphysical, in which view it is resolved into unreality. There remains a third way of regarding it, that is, in its teleological aspect, as a means to an end: in this case the production of good. Viewed apart from all its relations, evil is unintelligible; indeed anything so viewed is unintelligible. Of evil as a means to good Leibnitz has much to say, and labors hard to show that the rule "*non esse facienda mala, ut eveniant bona*" is not violated by God's choice of a world in which evils exist. God must, by the *principium melioris*, choose the best possible world, but in that world evil exists. It would be sin in God himself did He not permit sin in his universe. Much indeed, may be said *for* as well as against this view. If it can be shown that the highest and largest good possible can be attained in no other way, that it is beyond the power and wisdom of the Almighty and Omniscient to make actual the purposes of Infinite Goodness otherwise than by the introduction into the world of a vast amount of suffering, by the permission of iniquity of every form and grade, then that which is in itself simply and wholly bad will appear, by virtue of its being an indispensable condition to the best results, to partake of another character. It will become for the

moment assimilated to its opposite, and in view of the great and far-reaching good we shall be disposed to look with different eyes upon the ugly and detested evil which furnished the occasion of its existence; then may we even tune our lips to sing, "O felix culpa!"

Surely from this possible subserviency of evil to good, even to the highest good, some relief seems likely to be afforded. Evil certainly is the inseparable incident of all the good we experience. Pain and death in nature are the necessary accompaniments of the struggle for existence, but it is only through that struggle for existence, we are told, that the present improved forms of life have come to exist upon the earth. And in the moral sphere evil not only furnishes a background against which the nature of the good may be seen in strong relief, but it affords a resisting material for its skill to subdue, a battle ground and a foe which put to the proof the inherent strength of virtue, and it gives occasion to certain forms of goodness which otherwise could not exist, such as fortitude, patience, pity, and charity.

The final, all-justifying reason to be assigned for the existence of anything whatever, even for that of the Divine Being himself, is to be found in its relation to moral good. And if to make moral good actual in a perfect manner is the end for which God himself exists, we can hardly think that a created universe, from which the possibility of moral good were necessarily absent, would be worthy of Him. If, accordingly, the presence of evil in a world, from which it conceivably might have been excluded, is to be accounted for, it must be made to appear that its exclusion would imply the removal of those conditions also upon which the existence of the highest forms of good depend. Moral evil might have been excluded from the world along with freedom, but without freedom virtue is impossible. Apparently the possibility of sin must enter into the conception of any world of finite free beings, but is there any inherent necessity of its becoming actuality? Might not the possibility remain dormant forever? Surely the true city of God is a holy, happy universe! What place and function has evil therein? It can exist only in order to be displaced. But possibly just in this displacement of the evil by the good there might be called forth and come into existence a higher form of good than could possibly arise were there nothing to disturb the moral harmony of the universe. If the final cause of all existence is the realization of all that is contained in the idea of the good, if the good cannot complete itself without coming into



conflict with its opposite and subduing it, then as subservient to the triumph of the supreme principle of existence evil might seem to have, not an original, but a sort of derivative title to a position in the whole scheme of things. When the history of the universe shall be written it will be the record of the course which Infinite Love took to reveal itself, which was to bring out, in actual exercise of it, all that lay in its depths. Whether Infinite Intelligence might not have devised some other method whereby to unfold the nature of goodness and make it extant in the universe, and that, too, under its highest forms, it is impossible to say; it would be talking at random to propose such methods. But this is certain, that the existence of suffering, frailty and sin in the world give occasion, and for aught we can see the *only* occasion, for the exercise of qualities which lie very near the heart of goodness, if they be not the very innermost of all, namely, compassionate love and mercy.

It is only, however, when thus regarded as being necessarily incidental to the best possible system, that sin and suffering find even a relative justification for their existence in a world of God's choice and creation. When looked at in their own nature these evils remain evils. We may, indeed, conceal their essential deformity under the mantle of the good, to the existence of which they may be related as means to end, but this palliation does not change their nature, which is that of essential contrariety to those principles and qualities which we must think have supreme sway in the universe. The difficulty would be somewhat lessened if in every case we could see in one form of evil the productive cause or ground of the other. Could it be made to appear that physical evil is due solely to moral evil, the existence of suffering in the world would so far accord with our moral ideas, and therefore with what we conceive must be the character of God. Our ideas of justice allow, we may even say require, that the wicked suffer. There is a sort of fitness in it, as Leibnitz observes, like just proportions in architecture and harmony in music. But it would be very hard to show that all suffering in the world is due to sin. What we see is that the innocent suffer as well as the guilty, nay, often, that the severest trials fall upon the good and gentle, while the bad, who perhaps have caused these very miseries, escape them. In view of this it may be said that suffering has a disciplinary as well as retributive function, that the most precious virtues are nurtured by it, and that the amount of moral evil in the world is much lessened by its presence.

But admitting the truth of these considerations within the human sphere, there is a large part of the creation to which they manifestly do not apply. The sufferings of animals can hardly be regarded as either punitive or disciplinary. Leibnitz, in his day, might not have thought it worth while to pay much attention to what happened to brutes, but the suggestion of our possible derivation from them has awakened in recent times a new and peculiar interest in this part of the creation. No theodicy of the present day can afford to pass lightly over, still less to ignore, this troublesome element in the problem of evil. It must show that it is consistent with the divine benevolence that carnivorous creatures should exist; it must reconcile at once with divine wisdom and goodness the enormous apparent waste of life and the inevitable miseries attendant upon the struggle for existence, — miseries which have made the history of creation one long wail of pain, and by reason of which "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." To find in moral evil the sole cause of all natural evils, which are then viewed as inflicted in the way of penalty for the former, and to explain the miseries endured by the brute creation during the long ages before man appeared upon the earth, and which it still suffers, simply as being the proleptic shadow of that curse, the full weight of which was to fall — where alone distributive justice would seem to require its infliction — upon the human race, does not seem altogether satisfactory in an ethical point of view.

It may, indeed, be said that it is a law of nature, an inevitable result from the organic unity of all existence, that the innocent should suffer for the sin of the guilty. But this only aggravates the difficulty. Did it happen only once, or at the most but now and then, that the innocent should so suffer, these infrequent exceptions, by virtue of the very anomaly they would present, would serve to enforce upon our attention the universality of the law of justice, although they would still, in themselves considered, remain an insoluble enigma. But ethical principles do not tolerate exceptions; much less then do they allow that the exception should become a law. That the innocent should suffer retributively is the greatest difficulty of all. Were this actually the case no theodicy would be possible. Difficulties enough remain even if we discard this view. Denying that the sufferings of the brutes are punitive, it is not easy to see how they can be disciplinary or in any way beneficial to the victims themselves. Vicarious suffering seems to be a law, or general fact, of nature. But why should



things be so put together that this should be a law, an inevitable consequence? If the government of the universe be moral, and beneficent also, why out of all possible systems should this one be chosen? To most persons, however, as probably to Leibnitz, the sufferings of animals are an altogether insignificant matter compared with those endured by the human race, although it should be remembered that for a theodicy the primary question is not concerning the amount nor the grade of evil, but the simple existence of any evil whatever, in a world which has its source in the mind and will of a perfect being. If, however, we are to have a theodicy for the intellect at all, it must be profound enough to illuminate the lowest depths, and broad enough to shed its light upon the farthest developments of evil. Such a theodicy must be ready to explain why, if creation by evolution be the true account of man's origin, so many ages of misery were needed, during which he, who was to be the governing animal upon earth, should slowly and against such fearful odds of nature grope his way to reason. Or why if, on the other hand, the Creator, at a stroke, formed the perfect man there should have followed so sudden and almost complete ruin of his work; why the first page of human history should be red with a brother's murder, and every page thereafter show the same ugly stain, but broader and deeper, because there were more to kill, and the arts of destruction were better understood, down even to the most enlightened periods in which it still remains true that reason-gifted men have been unable to devise, or, what is worse, unwilling to employ, any other method of coming to an understanding with each other, in matters of national disagreement, than mutual destruction. But all this, it will be said, is due to human wickedness. True, but it shows what can happen (for these, and myriads of evils besides, have all happened and daily are happening still) in a world brought into being and controlled by infinite wisdom, goodness, and power. These, and such like, are evils which God not indeed directly produces, but permits. As thus permitted, they form a part of the best possible system. This outcome of human freedom has always been present in the mind of God. The chapter of human sin, whether it be a long one or a short one, has always been under the eye of Him who reads, as in an open book, the history of the universe, and who ever reads only what He has permitted to appear therein. It is precisely here, namely, in this permissive will of God, that the real stress comes upon any theodicy, for permission always implies power to prevent. The evils in the world, all of them, are thus indirectly

due to the divine will. They are partly contingent upon freedom, but free beings are contingent on the will of God. In permitting sin, God permits the greatest evil. He permits it, although He has power to prevent it, and in allowing sin He permits what He forbids. He allows what He does not allow. We may, indeed, distinguish here as Leibnitz does, in the scholastic manner, between the *material* and the *formal* elements in sin, between the power to act and the direction given to that power. We may say that God permits those whom He has endowed with freedom to use that freedom as they will, even in violation of the law of their being, and therefore what He permits is the exercise of freedom, and what He forbids is transgression. But the use which each free being will actually make of his freedom is infallibly known to Omniscience, and — must we not add with Leibnitz — predetermined? For how can anything future be known unless it be certain to occur? And is not the ground of all actuality what Leibnitz asserts, the divine decree? If we conceive of human sin as pure contingency, as the nature of freedom and responsibility require, we seem to imperil the divine sovereignty. Every sin, even that of a Sextus Tarquinius, must be regarded as having its appointed place in the plan of divine providence. This example is mentioned because Leibnitz employs it to set forth his views concerning the relation of the will of God to the sin of man. With the statement of them in this concrete form he brings to a conclusion the third part of the "*Théodicée*." The case is presented in the manner of an allegory, and as an appendix to the "Dialogue" of Laurentius Valla upon "Free Will," in opposition to the views maintained by Boethius in his "Consolations of Philosophy." In the "Dialogue," Sextus Tarquinius is represented as going to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo, and there receiving this response:

"Exul inopsque cades irata pulsus ab urbe."

He bitterly complains of his hard fate. "I brought you a royal present, O Apollo; and in return you announce to me this dreadful destiny!" Apollo replies: "Your present is agreeable to me, and I have done all you asked me to do. I have told you what will happen to you. I simply know the future: I do not make it. Go to Jupiter and the Fates with your complaints." In what passes further, and the comments thereon, Leibnitz affirms that Valla cut the knot he could not untie, and proposes to contribute something towards loosening it by continuing the fable in the following manner: Sextus left Delphi and went to Dodona in search of

Jupiter. There he offered sacrifice and poured out his complaints. "Why, O great god! have you condemned me to be a sinner, and to be miserable? Change my lot and my disposition, or admit that you are to blame for it." Jupiter replies: "If you will give up Rome the Fates shall spin you another destiny; you shall become virtuous, you shall be happy." "But why must I give up the hope of the crown? Can I not be a good king?" "No, I know best what you will do. If you go to Rome you are lost." Now Sextus could not make up his mind to the great sacrifice; he left the temple and abandoned himself to his fate. But Theodorus, the high priest, who had been present during the colloquy, and had overheard what was said, then appealed to Jupiter in these words: "Your wisdom is adorable, great ruler of the gods. You have convinced this man of his error. From this moment he must impute his misfortunes to his own evil will; he has not a word to say. But still your faithful worshipers are perplexed. Could you not have given Sextus a different mind?" "Go to my daughter Pallas," replied Jupiter; "she shall teach you what it was for me to do." Accordingly, Theodorus made a journey to Athens. When there he was told to lie down in the temple of the goddess. He fell asleep, and dreamed that he was transported to an unknown land, where there was a palace of wonderful size and splendor. At the door appeared the goddess Pallas in dazzling majesty. She touched the brows of Theodorus with her olive wand, that he might be able to sustain the glory of the daughter of Jupiter, and of all that she was to reveal to him. "Jupiter, who loves you," she said, "has sent you to me to be enlightened. You see here the palace of the Destinies, of which I am put in charge. There are representations here not only of all that actually takes place, but also of all that is possible. Before the beginning of the present world Jupiter passed in review all possible worlds and meditated upon them, and then chose the best among them all. Sometimes he comes on a visit to the palace just to give himself the pleasure of going over these things and renewing his former choice, which he never fails to approve. I have only to speak the word and you shall see every world that my father could produce, wherein shall be found represented whatever can be asked for, and thus one may know what would happen in any case should such or such a possibility occur. I will show you possible worlds in which you shall see — not precisely the same Sextus that you have seen; that cannot be, for the real Sextus always carries with him all that he is to be, but — Sextuses that approximate to the real

one, who have all that you have seen in him, yet not all that is in him without his knowledge of it; therefore, not all that will yet happen to him. You shall see in one of these worlds a Sextus prosperous and noble, in another a Sextus content with a humble lot, and in as many different worlds Sextuses of every sort and fashion." Thereupon the goddess led Theodorus into one of the apartments of the palace, and no sooner was he there than the apartment became a world, our own world, indeed, with the familiar sun and stars, yet not our own. At a word from Pallas, Dodona appeared, with the temple of Jupiter, and Sextus just leaving it. He was heard to say that he would obey the god. He goes to a city situate between two seas, like Corinth. There he buys a little garden. While cultivating it he alights upon a treasure. He becomes rich, beloved, a man of repute. He dies at a ripe old age, honored and esteemed by all the people. His whole life passes under the eye of Theodorus like a play at a theatre. But there was, moreover, a written volume in the apartment, and Theodorus could not forbear asking what it contained. "This," said the goddess, "is the history of the world you are now contemplating; it is the book of its destinies. You saw a number inscribed on the forehead of Sextus, now look for this passage corresponding to it in this book." So Theodorus looked out the passage, and there he found the full history of that Sextus whose life he had seen in outline. "Put your finger on any line you please," said Pallas, "and you shall see represented in detail what the line stands for as a whole." He did so, and there passed before his eyes all the incidents of one period in the career of that Sextus. He then passed into another apartment, and lo! another world, another Sextus, who, leaving the temple, resolved to obey the counsel of Jupiter, went to Thrace. There he married the king's daughter. The king had no other children, and on his death Sextus succeeded to the throne, and his subjects all adored him. So Theodorus went on from chamber to chamber, and saw a different world in each. The apartments rose one above another in the form of a pyramid, and ever as they rose they became more beautiful, and represented more beautiful worlds. At last, as the visitors went upward, they came to the highest, which formed the apex of the pyramid, and was the most beautiful of all. The pyramid had an apex, but no base. It went on increasing to infinity. The reason of that, as the goddess explained, was that among an infinity of possible worlds there is one which is best of all, and makes the apex, but there is none which has not one inferior below it, so that

the pyramid increases downward to infinity. When Theodorus entered the highest apartment of all he was filled with ecstasy. He would have fainted, but a drop of a divine cordial on his tongue restored him. He felt nothing but joy. "We are in the real actual world," said the goddess, "and you are at the very source of happiness. Behold what Jupiter has prepared for you if you continue to serve him faithfully. Look upon Sextus now as he actually is and as he will be. He goes out of the temple all in a rage; he scorns the counsel of the gods. You shall see him go to Rome, throw everything into confusion, ravish the wife of his friend. You shall see him driven from the city with his father, defeated, wretched. Now had Jupiter here chosen a Sextus happy at Corinth, or king in Thrace, it would no longer be this world. And, nevertheless, he could not fail to choose this world, which surpasses in perfection all the rest, which is the apex of the whole pyramid, for otherwise Jupiter would have renounced his wisdom, he would have rejected me, me who am his child. You see that it was not my father who made Sextus a sinner; he was a sinner from all eternity, and that, too, by his own free will. All that my father did was to grant him the existence which his wisdom could not refuse to the world which contained him. He simply caused that world, and Sextus along with it, to pass from the realm of possible into that of actual being. The crime of Sextus serves a noble purpose. From it shall arise a mighty empire fruitful in heroic characters. But that is nothing at all in comparison with the great whole of this world, the divine beauty of which one day you shall admire, when, after a happy passage from this mortal state into a better life, the gods shall have made you capable of comprehending it."

There are certain features of this allegory, and they represent essential elements of the system set forth in the "*Théodicée*," which give some color of truth to the story told by Erdmann in the preface to his edition of the philosophical works of Leibnitz: "*Cui quærenti sitne theodicæa lus ingenii potius quam vera Leibnitii sententia, subridens noster respondisse dicitur: Tu rem acu tetigisti.*" It is evident from the allegory that Leibnitz intends to relieve the difficulty relating to divine predestination in the case of evil, by making the human soul predetermine itself thereto, but in a manner which is, to say the least, astonishing. That a human soul actually existing as such in some prior state of being might sin, and by that sin predetermine its character and career for the present life, is a proposition which we shall venture

neither to affirm nor to deny. But, surely, merely possible beings cannot sin! The notion contains an interior contradiction. That is supposed to act which as yet is not actual. Of all theological explanations of original sin, this self-predetermination to evil of a being yet in the realm of the merely possible is the most strange and unsatisfactory. But the real difficulty is not relieved, but rather increased, by this untenable supposition. Allowing for the moment the contradiction to pass unchallenged that a merely possible being may act and therefore sin, we have simply pushed the whole problem back into a preëxistent state of being,<sup>1</sup> and a state of being, moreover, which does not differ in any other respect from the present. But, all the conditions remaining the same, simply to antedate is not to solve a problem.

But the whole question of the relation of possibility to actuality needs to be considered. It is fundamental to the system of Leibnitz, and the view of that relation as presented in the "Théodicée" appears to us to be fundamentally wrong. The whole array of possible worlds from among which the actual is chosen are simply abstracts from that actual world. Each is the actual world with some things left out, or some things added, or some things modified. As in the case of the first apartment into which Theodorus enters, "*Solemque suum, sua sidera nôrat,*" so of all, — some features of the actual world are retained, some new ones added, and some removed. But thus to depart from the actual is to dream. No doubt an artist or an inventor turns over in his mind a great many different possible forms of realizing his design before settling upon one which appears to him the best. But such a tentative method arises only from the limitations of our intelligence, limitations which do not exist for the divine mind. Surely, God neither imagines nor deliberates. To Him, we must suppose, the distinction of the real and the possible does not exist. Nor does Leibnitz himself conceive the distinction to hold, when *all* the conditions are taken account of. Moral possibility added to metaphysical obliterates the distinction. The possible and the actual, then, are identical. And in respect to nature, *complete* possibility is not distinguishable from actuality. With the removal of this distinction is also removed that which appears so prominent in the "Théodicée," between the understanding and the will of God, and which represents the Deity as subject in his action to the deliberation, suspense, and consequent choice which characterize human elections. Moreover, one cannot fail to see in these speculations of Leibnitz

<sup>1</sup> "And 't is a poor relief we gain,  
To change the place but keep the pain."



that the same determinism which prevails in the case of human action is made to involve the Deity. There is not much to choose here between Leibnitz and Spinoza, to whom Nature and God are synonymous terms. In the "Théodicée" the divine will is represented, not as a free creative activity, the primal ground not only of the actual but of the possible in nature, but rather as in its very highest activity limited to choice, and to a choice between a number of possible systems, each of which is presented as having its advantages and defects, the problem being to select the one which has the maximum of good, and the minimum of evil. Each world, accordingly, appears before the mind of God as a rigid whole, every part and period ideally predetermined to the last particular, and awaiting only his *Fiat* to become the actual world. If, then, the divine will is limited to the determination of the actual, what power, we must ask, fixes the possible? It would seem as if the divine will in creating found itself confronted by a Nature of Things within which all possibilities are already fixed and there were nothing to do but to select from what is offered. Not only moral and metaphysical, but also natural necessity seems to be regarded as prior to and independent of divine volition. The ancient mythology made the will of the *Parcæ* supreme over that of Jupiter, and it is not without significance that in the allegory concerning Sextus, it is the palace of the *Destinies* which contains the possible worlds, and thither must Jupiter resort when he makes his choice. It is true that Leibnitz assigns the possible worlds to the divine understanding; but by confining the exercise of the divine will to the mere actualization, as a whole, of one among many possible worlds, he leaves unaccounted for the already ideally fixed relation of the parts of each whole, and the ultimate natural conditions which make the component parts possible in one system. The *com*-possibility must be explained. It seems in the theory of Leibnitz to depend on a primal nature of things, which lies back of the divine will, and which forms to the mind of God an object of reflection, and presents possibilities of adjustment and combination somewhat as the actual world of nature does to the contemplative and inventive mind of man, who yet does not originate its laws and therefore cannot change them. A difficulty still more serious is that Leibnitz is obliged by this view to find the primal ideal ground of sin in the divine understanding, and even to designate it as one of the eternal ideas.

A careful examination of the theodicy of Leibnitz will lead any

one to ask the question whether a *theoretical* solution of the problem of evil is possible,—may not the human understanding be engaged, in this case, with a problem beyond its powers? Apparently in the attempt to solve the contradiction we fall into new ones. We must essentially change the conception of the one element to make it square with the other. We may define evil as limitation, but this makes it inseparable from creation, and therefore a necessary characteristic of the divine activity. We may regard it as the *conditio sine quâ non* of the highest good. This gives evil a place in the ultimate nature of things. Then we must ask: Did God establish this relation of dependence? Might He not have made the good, even the highest, possible without the evil? But if God did not establish this connection, is there, then, a Nature of Things to which even God is subject? That looks like dualism. If, to avoid this result, we define God as the Being who includes in himself all reality, we take the evil over into the good as part of its definition.

There is a short *a priori* road by which, starting from the necessary attributes of Deity, we may arrive at an optimistic conclusion. This is the method of the "Théodicée." God is perfect in wisdom. He knows all possible worlds, therefore the best. God is absolute in power, therefore He can create the best. God is infinite in benevolence. Therefore, if He create any, He will bring into existence only the best. The actual world, therefore, is the best possible. But it is very easy to see that this argument proves nothing, unless a simple analysis may be regarded as a proof. For all that is done here is to draw out in analytical propositions what is already contained by implication in the notion of the subject, God. Theism is implicitly optimism. It may dispense with theodicy. The true vindication of God is the idea of God. But this is the theodicy of faith, not of the understanding, so soon as the case is removed from the sphere of notions to that of existence. Give to the analytical understanding the conception God, and the world as his product, and optimism follows of necessity. One may always take out of notions what he has already put into them. But that there really exists a Being of absolute perfection, and that the world, as we know it, is his product, are objective truths, which the mere understanding must receive from some source of knowledge beyond itself.

Now, quite apart from any specific exercise of the intellect in the way of formal demonstration, there exists a sort of natural optimism of the heart, an optimism which asserts itself against



all that appears to contradict it. Pessimism is artificial, non-natural. Every man is at heart an optimist. The presence of evil in the world may seem to be inconsistent with the conception of the world's origin in God. "*Si Deus est, unde malum?*" But in a different mood, and with a profounder view, the aspect of the case is changed. The manifold forms of good, as undeniable as the evils, attract the mind's attention, and their possible preponderance over the evil, even for this life, suggests itself to reflection. But still more, the mind is disposed to ask itself, What of this very idea itself, the good, — that idea in the light of which alone evil itself is known and judged, — that principle which asserts itself in our profoundest beliefs as the essential, therefore the eternal, element, and the final issue? If, in view of the contradictory nature of evil and its manifest reality, we are obliged to ask, "*Si Deus est, unde malum?*" we are also able, and indeed compelled, to retort, "*Si Deus non est, unde bonum?*"

But, moreover, this circumstance challenges our attention; there is a problem of evil, but there is no problem of good. That good should exist in the world excites no surprise, and demands no explanation, as evil does. It does not strike athwart our deepest and most cherished convictions. It seems to accommodate itself to our whole being, and to the end for which we think a human soul, or a universe, might be made to exist.

When hard pressed by the difficulties which arise from the presence of evil we accordingly betake ourselves to the shelter and illumination which our moral intuitions afford. We decline to pass judgment on what takes place in the sphere of perception and experience without taking into account what is necessarily and eternally true. The good is supreme in idea, and what is supreme ideally shall prove itself supreme in reality. If theism is optimism, so also optimism is theism. In the order of perception and experience, sin, suffering, and imperfection confront us, but above that order is a realm of ideas, older, eternal, supreme. In that realm the good is the sun, the source at once of illumination and control. Whatever exists finds here its explanation. All being and all becoming, from the greatest to the least, feel the attraction and reflect the light of this central sun. God is the expression of the absolute life and energy of this principle. We know it in the concrete in Him, the Absolute Personality. Whatever else is real, the divine attributes are real, more real, if possible, than any facts. That what is true for intuition shall become true for perception, that what is in its own nature real and su-

preme shall finally assert its truth and reveal its supremacy in the sphere of experience, is not merely the hope, but the indestructible belief of the human heart. This is affirmation, indeed, and not argument, but it is, nevertheless, rational, for it is affirmation of the same sort as that upon which all reasoning finally rests. That the sharp opposition which presents itself when the evil in the world is seen against the background of the divine source of all existence may be somehow removed, we profoundly believe, although we may not be able to effect the removal of it either in the way of demonstration or by an appeal to perceptions. Faith has its own theodicy, which, though it may not be able to adjust itself to the requirements of the logical understanding, satisfies the heart. It is a theodicy which leaves time altogether out of the account. To the view of faith evil exists only as vanquished. The good has already displaced it, and in displacing it has asserted its own supreme authority and power, for faith sees the eternal in the temporal. Moreover, the ideal order, although present within the actual from the beginning, has at one point in history revealed itself in full majesty and given decisive intimation of its ultimate supremacy. In Him who came out from that ideal order to bear witness to ideal truth, in Him who *is* that truth in personal manifestation, Son of God and Son of Man, faith sees a new humanity already displacing the old. It sees Jesus Christ supreme actually as well as ideally. The Alpha of faith is also its Omega. Its solution of the problem of evil is concrete, not abstract. It appeals to that living truth which alone is real to spiritual beings, to truth to which it is possible to adjust our whole being, and not merely, and perhaps not at all, the bare intellect, which, after all, is but one part of what we call ourselves. A theoretical solution of this problem, owing to our present limitations in time and space, may be unattainable, but a practical solution is possible. It is common enough to assume that one faculty of our complex nature, namely, the understanding, is competent to deal with any conflict which may arise between that which belongs to the realm of pure ideas and that which is given in experience, and meanwhile it is forgotten that experience is not the product of intellect merely, but of feeling and will as well.

In this connection it appears why it is that although there may be a problem of evil there cannot from the nature of the case be a problem of good. To say that good should exist in the universe is simply to say that there should be that which answers

to our *whole* being. There is nothing foreign to our essential needs and to our entire being in the good. It is perfectly congruent with our conception of the origin and end of existence — as evil is opposed to it. But this opposition is not formal but real. It belongs not to pure thought alone, but to existence, to life, to experience, and in that latter sphere alone it can be successfully resolved, and that, as in the case of all contraries, through the displacing in experience one term of the opposition by the other, just as light displaces darkness, heat, cold, pleasure, pain. In the intuitions of feeling and of faith, which spring from deepest feeling, the good has already subverted the evil. Desire and volition assume and tend toward the good, and never to the evil as such. If one wills the evil he wills it *sub specie boni*. To suppose evil to be the origin, element, and ultimate end of things is to present a conception which has no possible relation to feeling or to action, as it has none to the highest ideas of reason. When the idea of the good, which is the most precious possession of reason, and the aspiration towards it, which is the deepest we are capable of, find expression in honest endeavor to make actual what we in our hearts hold to be the essential reality, we put ourselves in the only position from which a solution of this dark problem can be hoped for. Light comes from living more than from thinking. Moreover, this practical way of dealing with a problem too hard for the intellect is like that which God himself has offered to our consideration and acceptance. The kingdom of redemption is the *Divine* Theodicy. Had the Infinite Intelligence been disposed to address to our understandings, or to our perceptions, in the present life, a vindication of himself in view of the evil in his universe, the necessary limitations of our faculties would have made such a revelation impossible. But to those who will submit themselves to his methods He vindicates himself as completely as if He immediately informed us what was the answer to all our difficulties. He himself *acts* in the world through his Son and Spirit, and, on condition of our acting in the same line with Him, promises and affords such intellectual illumination as we are capable of receiving.

The problem of evil presents itself as the puzzle of the earliest literature of our race, and, doubtless, it will remain to be the riddle of the latest. That a solution of it for the intellect as yet exists we may well question. Certainly, to *see* the solution we must wait until the end of history, or for the clearer light of that new world from which the present one is even now controlled, and for which it came into existence and continues in being.

From the brightness of that world we trust that the spirit of Leibnitz looks down upon the course of things below, and the shadows that lie about our life, with the serene eyes of one who reads the inner meaning and knows the final issue. We will think of him as he thought of the skeptic Bayle, of whom, with a courtesy somewhat rare among theological disputants, he said: "Il est à esperer que M. Bayle se trouve maintenant environné de ces lumières qui nous manquent ici-bas, puisqu'il y a lieu de supposer qu'il n'a point manqué de bonne volonté.

Candidus insueti miratur limen Olympi,  
Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis."

Henry A. P. Torrey.

BURLINGTON, Vt.

## DAVID.

### A STUDY FOR ORATORIO OR CANTATA.

#### *Analysis.*

- I. The Election of DAVID.
- II. The Sweet Singer.
- III. DAVID and GOLIATH.
- IV. DAVID and ABIGAIL.
- V. Death of SAUL and JONATHAN.
- VI. DAVID's Sin and Repentance.
- VII. Death of ABSALOM and DAVID.
- VIII. The Everlasting Kingdom.

#### *Chief Parts.*

DAVID, *First Tenor*.  
MESSENGER, *Second Tenor*.  
SAUL, *First Bass*.  
GOLIATH, *Second Bass*.  
FIRST NARRATOR, *Baritone*.  
ABIGAIL, *Contralto*.  
SECOND NARRATOR, *Soprano*.  
NATHAN, NABAL, Hebrew Women, etc.

## I.

### THE ELECTION OF DAVID.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And Samuel said unto Jesse, "Are here all thy children?" And he said, "There remaineth yet the youngest, and, behold, he keepeth the sheep." And he sent and brought him in. And the Lord said, "Arise, anoint him, for this is he!" And the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.

#### *Chorus.*

Thus saith the Lord of hosts;  
I took thee from the sheepcote,  
From following the sheep,  
To rule my people Israel:  
And now thy kingdom and thy house  
Shall be established evermore.

## II.

## THE SWEET SINGER.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And it came to pass when the evil spirit came upon Saul, that David took a harp and played with his hand; and Saul was refreshed, and the evil spirit departed from him.

SECOND NARRATOR. *Air.*

For Nature he had loved and wooed  
In her gracious solitude;  
Heard the mystic hymn of praise  
Which her myriad voices raise; —  
Songs of birds and hum of bees,  
Soft winds sighing in the trees,  
Babbling brooks and rippling rills,  
Waterfalls in distant hills,  
Waving grass and rustling grain,  
And the softly falling rain,  
Roar of floods and splash of fountains,  
Thunders echoing from the mountains,  
Planets singing in their courses,  
Airy powers and fiery forces; —  
Till his heart awoke and sang,  
And his harp with music rang,  
Blending in its native charm  
All sweet notes of Nature's psalm.

*Trio of Women.*

And holier inspirations came  
Upon him with their tongues of flame,  
Kindling his prophetic heart  
To strains of more than mortal art.  
Though Orpheus' lute long broken lies  
And far away its echo dies,  
O shepherd-king, thy harp-notes roll  
From age to age, from soul to soul.  
Thine are the songs that mortals raise  
Of prayer and penitence and praise, —  
Sweet singer of the world, as well,  
O singer sweet of Israel!

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And David went and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.

Chorus.

The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want;  
He maketh me rest in pastures green;  
Beside the still waters He leadeth me;  
My soul He refresheth, and guideth me  
In paths that are holy, for his Name's sake.

Though I walk in the gloom of the valley of death,  
Since Thou art with me, no evil I'll fear;  
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

A table Thou spreadest before my foes;  
My head Thou anointest, my cup overflows:  
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me  
All the days of my life; and I shall dwell  
In the house of the Lord forevermore.

## III.

DAVID AND GOLIATH.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And there went a champion out of the camp of the Philistines,  
and he stood and cried daily:

GOLIATH. *Air.*

Why come ye forth in battle array?  
Choose one to fight with me this day:  
And if he prevail, your slaves are we,  
But if I prevail, our slaves are ye.  
Israel's armies this day I defy!  
Send me a man our strength to try.

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Let no man's heart fail because of him; thy servant will go  
and fight with this Philistine.

SAUL. *Recitative.*

Thou art not able to go against this Philistine, for thou art  
but a youth, and he is a mighty man of war.

DAVID. *Air.*

Thy servant kept his father's sheep  
On wild Judean hills afar,  
Watching the countless flocks of stars  
In the peaceful pastures of the sky;—  
How sweet the music of their march  
As God, their Shepherd, guides them on,  
Till, from the East, the glorious sun  
Rises, rejoicing, his race to run;—  
By night the forest beasts creep forth,  
The hungry lions seek their prey.  
I have snatched a lamb from the lion's mouth,  
I have slain the bear and lion too.  
My hands have broken a bow of brass.  
In the Lord have I put my trust;  
How say ye then to my soul,  
"Flee as a bird to your mountain?"  
Jehovah girdeth me with strength,  
His gentleness will make me great.  
No longer let this lion mock  
And threaten Israel's timid flock.

*Choral.*

O Lord, our fathers' God,  
Art Thou not God in heaven?  
Dost Thou not rule in all the earth  
That none may Thee withstand?  
Art Thou not still our God?  
O hasten to defend  
Thy people now; stretch forth thy rod,  
And great deliverance send.

If Thou, Lord, be his help,  
Now shall thy servant stand.  
O let thy truth his buckler be,  
Thy faithfulness his shield.  
Armed with thy mighty power,  
Defended, Lord, by Thee,  
His be the vict'ry in this hour,  
And thine the glory be.



GOLIATH. *Recitative.*

Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves? By all Philistia's gods, I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field.

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Thou comest to me with a sword, and spear, and shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts whom thou hast defied. This day the Lord will deliver thee into my hand, that all the earth may know there is a God in Israel.

*Chorus.*

Let God arise! Let God arise!  
And let his enemies be scattered.  
As smoke is driven, drive them away;  
As wax in the fire so let them perish.  
But the righteous shall rejoice,  
And be glad before the Lord.  
Let God arise, let God arise,  
And let his enemies be scattered.

MESSENGER. *Air.*

Victory! Victory!  
Marvellous things Jehovah hath done  
This day by the hand of Jesse's son!  
The giant of Gath is slain in his might,  
His armies are shattered and scattered in flight.  
Vain was their valor, and Elah's plain  
To Ekron's gates is strewn with the slain.  
Laden with spoil,  
Weary with toil,  
Hither the king and his heroes come.  
Forth throng, forth throng,  
With dance and song,  
Women of Israel, and welcome them home!

*Chorus of Women.*

Victory! Victory!  
Sing to Jehovah a new song,  
For He hath done marvellous things.  
With his own right hand and holy arm  
Hath He gotten himself the victory.



*1st Semi-Chorus.*

Saul, the king, his thousands hath slain,  
Long live the king, the valiant king!

*2d Semi-Chorus.*

Tens of thousands hath David slain,  
The hero, the darling of Israel!

*Soprano Air.*

Not with the armor of man —  
With helmet and sword and mail —  
But with loins girt about with truth,  
His helmet the hope of salvation,  
With sword of the Spirit and shield of faith  
And the breastplate of righteousness, —  
In the armor of God alone,  
With his shepherd's sling and stone,  
David hath laid Goliath low  
And conquered Israel's boastful foe.

*1st Semi-Chorus.*

Saul, the king, his thousands hath slain,  
Long live the king, the valiant king!

*2d Semi-Chorus.*

Tens of thousands hath David slain,  
The hero, the darling of Israel!

*Full Chorus.*

Victory! Victory!

Sing to Jehovah a new song,  
For He hath done marvellous things.  
With his own right hand and holy arm  
Hath He gotten himself the victory.

Hosanna! Hosanna!  
Hosanna in the highest!

## IV.

## DAVID AND ABIGAIL.

*Semi-Chorus of Male Voices.*

We come for favor in thine eyes,  
O Nabal, in a goodly day:

Now unto thee and to thy house  
And unto all thou hast be peace.  
In David's name, we pray thee, give  
Of thine abundance for his need.

NABAL. *Recitative.*

And who is David? Many now  
There be that from their masters break.  
Shall I give bread and flesh to men  
Of whom I know not whence they come?

ABIGAIL. *Air.*

Let not my lord severely scan  
The trespass of this foolish man:  
Accept thy handmaid's gifts, I pray,  
And let thine anger melt away.  
And when the Lord hath proved thee well,  
And thou art King in Israel,  
Thou may'st, in grateful psalm, record  
The loving-kindness of the Lord,  
Whose grace subdued thy vengeful heart,  
And made thee choose the better part.  
Oh then remember, I entreat,  
The suppliant kneeling at thy feet.

DAVID. *Air.*

Go up in peace unto thy home,  
For I have hearkened to thy prayer:  
Blessed be God that bade thee come,  
And blessed thou, his handmaid fair.

DAVID AND ABIGAIL. *Duett.*

*David.*

Thy gentle grace subdues my heart,  
Thy goodness makes my folly wise;  
I choose with thee the better part,—  
'Tis mercy, and not sacrifice.

*Abigail.*

Thy manly grace subdues my heart,  
Thy kindness makes my weakness strong:  
I praise with thee the better part,  
And crown thy mercy with a song.

*Chorus.*

So tender mercies melt the heart,  
And heavenly graces sweetly move  
To make us choose the better part,  
'And triumph in the power of love.

*Nuptial Chorus.*

Who is this? Who is this?  
That cometh up from the wilderness,  
Leaning upon her beloved?  
She looketh forth as the dawn  
In cloudless eastern skies:  
Like bannered hosts she comes  
With the splendor of her eyes  
Fair as the argent moon,  
Pure as the sun at noon;  
Who is this? Who is this?  
That cometh up from the wilderness,  
Leaning upon her beloved?

*DAVID. Air.*

Lo! this is my beloved,  
Of women fair the fairest,  
No sweeter rose in Sharon grows,  
Nor lily in the valleys.

*ABIGAIL. Air.*

Lo! this is my beloved,  
Among ten thousand chiefest,  
My beloved is mine, and I am his,  
He feeds among the lilies.

DAVID and ABIGAIL. *Duet, repeating the two verses above.*

*Chorus.*

Rise up, my love, my fair one,  
Rise up and come away.  
For lo! the winter is past,  
The rain is over and gone,  
The singing of birds is heard again,  
And the voice of the cooing dove;  
Once more the flowers bloom,  
And the tender vines are sweet.

Rise up, my love, my fair one,  
Rise up, and do not stay;  
Or ever the morning break,  
And the shadows flee away,  
O turn thee, my beloved,  
Rise up and come away!

## V.

## DEATH OF SAUL AND JONATHAN.

DAVID.

Whence comest thou?

MESSENGER.

Out of the camp  
Of Israel have I escaped.

DAVID.

How went the battle? I pray thee, tell me.

MESSENGER.

The people are fled from the battle,  
And many are fallen and many dead;  
And Saul and Jonathan are also dead.

*"Song of the Bow."* DAVID and Chorus.

O Israel, the wild gazelle  
Is slain on thy high places.  
How are the mighty fallen!  
Tell ye it not in Gath:  
In Ashkelon refrain thy voice;  
Lest the uncircumcised rejoice,  
Philistia's daughters triumph.

Henceforth let neither dew nor rain  
Be on Gilboa's mountains, —  
Nor fruitful field, — for there the shield  
Of Saul the mighty was cast away,  
As it were a thing unholy.

The bow of Jonathan turned not back,  
Unsated, from the battle;

Red with the blood of foemen slain,  
The sword of Saul returned again  
From the slaughter of the mighty.

Saul and Jonathan in their lives  
Lovely were and pleasant:  
Than eagles swifter they in flight,  
Than lions stronger they in might;  
In death they were not divided.

Daughters of Israel, weep for Saul,  
Who gave you rich apparel;  
Who decked you with a wealth untold  
Of purple and scarlet, gems and gold,  
Rich spoils of many a battle.

And thou, too, on the mount wast slain,  
O Jonathan, my brother!  
My soul is sore distressed for thee;  
Very dear hast thou been to me;  
Thy love to me was wonderful,  
Passing the love of women.  
How are the mighty fallen!  
And perished the weapons of war!

## VI.

## DAVID'S SIN AND REPENTANCE.

NATHAN. *Recitative.*

And Nathan said unto David: *Thou art the man!* Thou hast killed Uriah with the sword, and hast taken his wife to be thy wife. Now, therefore, the sword shall never depart from thy house. Thou did'st it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun.

DAVID. *Air.*

O gracious Lord! as I confess,  
Do Thou forgive my sin.  
Cleanse me from all unrighteousness,  
And make me pure within.

Create within me a clean heart,  
A constant spirit give;

Nor let me ever from Thee part,  
But in thy presence live.

Upon thine altar now I bind  
Thine own sweet sacrifice:  
The broken heart, the contrite mind,  
Thou, Lord, wilt not despise.

NATHAN. *Recitative.*

The Lord hath put away thy sin: thou shalt not die; but the  
child that is born unto thee shall surely die.

*Quartette.*

Darling child, in slumber seeming  
Far away in happy dreaming,  
Still and breathless is thy sleeping,  
Heedless of our watch and weeping:  
Farewell, dear child, farewell!

While our hearts with grief are breaking,  
Thou to heavenly joy art waking:  
Clouds of sorrow o'er us glooming  
Shadow not thy life's sweet blooming:  
Farewell, dear child, farewell!

Israel's Shepherd safely fold thee,  
In his bosom gently hold thee;  
And our feet in mercy guiding,  
Bring us where thou art abiding:  
Dear child, till then, farewell!

## VII.

### DEATH OF ABSALOM AND DAVID.

DAVID. *Recitative.*

Deal gently with the young man Absalom,  
Deal gently with him for my sake, I pray:  
Let no one harm the young man Absalom.

MESSENGER. *Recitative.*

Tidings! tidings! my lord the king!  
For God hath this day thee avenged  
Of all them that against thee rose.



DAVID. *Recitative.*

Is the young man Absalom safe?

MESSENGER. *Recitative.*

The enemies of my lord the king,  
And all that strive to do thee hurt,  
Be as the young man Absalom.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber  
over the gate, and wept; and as he went, thus he said:—

DAVID. *Air.*

O my son Absalom!  
O Absalom, my son, my son!  
Would God that I had died for thee,  
O Absalom, my son, my son!

*Chorus.*

Like as a father pitieth his children,  
So the Lord pitieth them that fear him:  
For He knoweth whereof we are made,  
He remembereth that we are dust.

FIRST NARRATOR. *Recitative.*

Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die: and  
he charged Solomon his son, saying:

DAVID. *Air.*

I go the way of all the earth:  
Be strong and show thyself a man:  
Walk thou before the Lord thy God  
With perfect heart and willing mind,  
And thou shalt prosper in his ways.  
I go the way of all the earth:  
Be strong, fear not, nor be dismayed,—  
The Lord be with thee evermore.

*Quintette.*

The souls of the righteous  
Are in the hand of God,  
No torment there shall touch them.

In the sight of the unwise  
They seemed to die;  
But they are in peace.

*Chorus.*

A glorious kingdom shall they receive,  
And beautiful crowns from God's own hand:  
Zion with joy shall welcome them,  
And all her streets shall cry aloud,  
Alleluia!

# VIII.

## THE EVERLASTING KINGDOM.

FIRST NARRATOR.

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch; and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment in the earth; and his name shall be, "*The Lord our Righteousness!*"

*1st Choir.*

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,  
For He hath visited and redeemed his people:

*2d Choir.*

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us,  
In the house of his servant David.

*1st Choir.*

As He spake by the mouth of his holy prophets,  
Which have been since the world began:

*2d Choir.*

That we should be saved from our enemies,  
And from the hand of all that hate us.

*Full Chorus.*

He shall be great! He shall be called  
The Son, the Son of the Highest!  
And the Lord God shall give to him  
The throne of his father David:  
And He shall reign forever;  
His kingdom shall know no end!

*Amen.*

NATURAL LAW IN THE FORMATION OF  
CHARACTER.

To one engaged in the spiritual culture of his fellow-men the subject of this article ought surely to have a paramount interest. Yet it may be questioned if many of those who enter the sacred ministry have so much as considered whether there be any natural laws of character; nor would it be strange if some of our modern disasters to faith were due to this fact; for if there be one thing that God is teaching us in this nineteenth century, it is that everything has its natural laws; and that no business, whether secular or religious, can be soundly conducted without reference to them.

In fact, the hour is coming, and now is, when an honest endeavor to conform to the principles on which God has established his universe is to be recognized as a vital part of his service; and when he who would obtain any good thing of God is not only to ask of Him, but dutifully to seek for God's answer as best he can along the line of law. The pious architect who builds his house by prayer on exploded sanitary principles is not one whit more a tempter of God than he who builds up the souls of his fellow-men on religious sentiments or theological theories without studying in dead earnest the divine laws on which character proceeds. Such moral architecture must, sooner or later, result in a crash, albeit for a time it may command admiration. The Scripture is preëminently a book about character. It can only be properly understood from that practical standpoint, and if anything is the minister's business it certainly is this: whether or not he comprehends Dorner, he certainly must comprehend character. It is in his hands to make or mar. The responsibility of his needless blundering is not to be put off upon God. Whatever he may or may not have in the line of theology, new or old, he certainly must know what he is about when he deals with men morally. Nay, for his own soul's sake, he cannot afford to be weak at this point; however many things he lacks, he must not lack moral clearness or moral impetus, and these are things that are only to be gained by patient application along the path of law.

It is possible that some persons may object to the term "Natural Law," as applied to the necessities of our moral constitution; to such persons this use of the term seems not only to obliterate the distinction between natural and moral law, but also to detract

from the freedom of moral action. It is certainly of the first importance to keep in view the freedom of moral action. But no one hesitates to speak of a moral nature. This term does not imply to any one's mind that the will is necessitated, yet where there is a nature there must be natural law. The term "moral nature" is a just one. There is, environing the will, a moral constitution as fixed as that of physical nature. The moral world, as well as the physical, is traversed by organic necessities. While, therefore, moral law may be viewed on the one hand as the commandment of God, given to us as free agents, on the other hand that same law of God, with its atonement for sinners, may be viewed as God's parental guidance and interposition for us, whereby we may be guided along these organic paths of the moral universe, and saved from the peril of its organic necessities. It may help us to realize better the significance both of God's law and God's gospel if we do not always divide the nature of things by so broad a line of demarkation into physical and moral, but accustom ourselves to look upon the universe as one, and to see Christ not moving in a single department of it, but standing with us and for us under these real and indivisible organic necessities that we all feel, and calling us both as free and as necessitated to fly to the shelter of his arms; our theology may be less fictitious in its aspect, it may help to give it more breadth, and may make it more of a moral reality if we study it not only from the standpoint of free agency, but also from the standpoint of organic law.

In taking up the problem of character there is a large class of people who persist in doing despite to all sound mental philosophy by concentrating their reformatory effort on the emotions. Still another class, who consider themselves scientific, continue to put their main reliance upon education. Both these methods are ethical blunders; for while thinking and feeling are both conditions and elements of character, neither of them can be a CAUSE. The will is the sole cause of character; the cultivation of right thinking and right feeling, therefore, as a means of appealing to the will, is unquestionably useful so far as it goes; but every method that does not succeed in reaching and reforming the will itself must prove delusive. There is still another class of persons who, seeing the truth that the will is the only real formative force in character, devote themselves to conduct; their conviction is that character is to be developed by "going to work" or by "doing good," as they phrase it. This, too, is an ethical blunder; it is

one which the Apostle Paul found himself obliged to antagonize in his attempt to build character on its true basis. Good works do indeed strengthen the volition, but volition is not the fundamental element in will power; it is the power of choice between moral ends which is the true causative, organizing element in the will. This element is latent in the child, and in what St. Paul calls the animal or psychical type of man. In fact, many persons appear to pass their lives not only without the use of this power, but without the knowledge of its possession. It is not, therefore, wonderful that to most men and women, absorbed in the whirl of external life, volition should seem to constitute the only form of will power, and the cultivation of it by good works should seem to be the only practicable development of one's moral nature. In fact, few people develop the capability of choosing any great end in life, to say nothing of steadfastly adhering to one. Most of what we hear spoken of as will power is either a ruling passion or a strong volition; but deep within every human heart lies this mighty possibility of moral and spiritual choice, a slumbering manhood, and it is by rousing this inmost power of preference, by eliminating it from passion and cultivating its election of rational and moral ends, that character is to be fully and powerfully developed. It is the glory of the Bible that, though unscientific in form, it has always insisted on what proves to be the fundamental necessity in character, namely, the formation of a supreme and holy choice. Volition is not the main thing. Good works are delusive as a foundation; the heart must first be attended to; it must be fixed in that moral preference which is the only radical and abiding form of moral life.

The question, therefore, which meets us at the outset is this, "Which exercise of choice is the natural starting point in the formation of character?" It is obvious, at a glance, that a righteous choice may be exerted in different directions: for instance, one may choose virtue instead of vice; one may, like Socrates, make choice of wisdom; or one may choose the will of another person as his supreme object. It seems evident that the preference of another person's will to one's own is the more natural starting point for an undeveloped character, because there is, in this choice, an affectional element, which, as an immediate good, appeals to the will, and helps to break the bond of selfishness. But here again one may exercise this very preference of another's will in different ways. I may choose the will of another with entire disinterestedness, or I may choose it because I need help, and

because of the promise of good which it contains for me. This latter choice may be called the choice of faith. It takes but a glance to see that the choice of faith is the easier of the two; it is surely easier for an unformed or weakened will to begin by choosing the will of another, because of the promise which it holds out, than to rise at once to a disinterested preference for it; there are few, if any, who would, at the outset, prefer God's will disinterestedly to their own. There are many who, under the burden of guilt, are ready to accept it, that they may be saved by it, seeing that God's will can do better for them than their own. The choice of faith is therefore the natural starting point in the development of moral power, and if we look about us we see that our environment provides for just such a starting point in the evolution of human character. Nature starts the human being as a child, puts him, to begin with, in a filial position, and provides him with a parental will, whose choice he is to accept in filial faith. The parental will is the true end of a child's moral choice, and it is the duty of the parent to make that will fraught with promise to the child. Human character, when thus matured along nature's line of filial choice, is prepared to rise to the noblest moral attainments. Unfortunately, too often, no moral end is recognized either by parent or child, but only an adjustment of antagonistic volitions. Too often, alas, the child's will is viewed simply as a volition to be subjugated, not as containing in itself a germ of rational and affectional choice to be inspired and developed, and it is true that in the child volition is the first thing to manifest itself; also, it is true that a personality in which volition is the only developed moral force must be governed largely by authority, the *vis a tergo* acting through the pains of conscience and through penalty. The animal or volitional man cannot understand God's law of spiritual choice; neither can he be subject thereto, says St. Paul. He cannot understand the law, because he has, as yet, no experience of the faculty to which it refers. It is as yet undeveloped within him: first, that which is animal; afterward, that which is spiritual. This is the track of moral evolution. It is true, therefore, that the childish will must be governed by authority; but no true parent will forget that this same childish will contains within itself an undeveloped capability of moral choice. He will see that if the childish nature is ever to be safely organized it must be through the development of that power of choice along the lines of reason, affection, and right desire. He will remember from his own experience how the paren-



tal will looms up upon the child's horizon, and it will be his strongest desire that this overshadowing will of his shall be to the child not so much a Mount Sinai as a Mount Zion. Nay, he will see to it that even in the most Sinaitic stage of progress there shall not fail to be an evangelical foreground of promise and of grace. Faith is the starting point, then, in the organization of character, because it is the easiest effort of the will in the direction of moral choice. It is the easiest, not only because it is the choice of a person, not only because it starts with a large element of promise, appealing to the desires, but also because its whole circumference is passive. It has not to initiate, but to accept. It is surrounded by, and borne upon, the current of another will. It has a *ποῦ στῶ*, a ground of reliance outside of self. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Christ should say of the little child whom He held in his arms, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." From the same generic starting point is the heavenly type developed. But there comes a time in the growth of the child's will when it is best that it should take on a larger radius of self-determination. Nature, therefore, provides that the environment of the parental will should fall away, and that the growing power of choice should be brought into direct contact with the issues of life.

Nevertheless, it is still vital to the development of character that it should move along the upward incline of faith. Doubtless, it must ever be vital to the character of a finite being, however large the radius of its will, that both the circumference and the centre should be passive, neither self-centred nor self-bounded. Therefore, as the opening manhood finds itself face to face with the world, it also finds provided for it another environing will, — the will of human society; and not only that, but a yet higher controlling force, acting through human society under the name of religion. Faith is, therefore, the line of man's development, according to nature, as well as according to the Scriptures, and it is well to notice that the Scripture is more philosophic than the theologians; for while it describes faith unmistakably as an act of the will, and holds a man responsible for its exercise, it invariably describes it as the faith of the heart, a term strikingly true to nature; for, although filial faith is a primary choice of the will, it is equally true that there may be a choice which does not involve the activity of the whole heart. A man may, like Luther in his monastery, choose God's will rationally and determinedly, yet his affection may not be at all engaged in that choice. In that case one of the most powerful elements of his nature will remain un-

organized and intractable. Such a disorganized element must be a constant source of moral discord and weakness. It is important, therefore, not only that the power of choice should be aroused and exercised in the form of faith, but that the intelligence, the affection, the conscience, and even the desires, should be intently aroused and fastened upon the object of the choice.

So God, dealing with an elementary character, makes broad the elements of promise in the announcement of his will, saying, "I will make of thee a great nation, and in thee shall all kingdoms of the earth be blessed;" and there is, perhaps, no spectacle in the realm of nature more affecting than that of this half-civilized polygamous type of manhood, gradually enlarged and transformed both in mind and heart by the organizing power contained in his persistent choice of faith, till the outlines of his moral character loom up upon us, as a son of God, human, yet heavenly and gigantic. It is this organizing power of choice, enabling it to incorporate into its own fixity all these spontaneous elements of our nature, and to fasten them in a state of active absorption upon the rational good contained in the object of the choice, that makes it such a regenerating force. A heart destitute of such rational and moral organization must lie to a great extent in a state of self-ignorance and moral paralysis. On the other hand, a heart with its activities initiated and organized by the will of God, through the choice of faith, is a new manhood, a birth from above.

And, at this point, a caution becomes necessary. The faith of the heart having in it a large affectional as well as rational element, having, moreover, a large passive side, there is danger lest it be viewed altogether from one or the other of these standpoints; lest, viewed from the standpoint of reason, it become to our minds simply a rationalizing process, caused by demonstration; or, viewed from the standpoint of love, it should become to us an affectional state, caused by the emotions; or, viewed from the passive standpoint, it appear like an entirely supernatural product, over which the man himself has no control. To take such a view is to raise a barrier at once between a man's will and his own character, which is unnatural and absurd. If there be one thing that characterizes man, it is that he is a free agent; he was put here to act; his will is the power by which he acts; and if there be anything on which he is bound to act it certainly is his own character. The choice of faith gives him his true field of activity, a field neither too small nor too great for him; it makes him a humble partner with God in the work of self-formation,—

a son of God, and a creator after the Infinite. And it cannot be too distinctly borne in mind that while faith is in the largest sense the work of God's will, initiating and fashioning our choice, it is, in an infinitely smaller but quite practical sense, the act of our own will, and that while the element of reason enters strongly into it, still it is not the reason, but the will, that causes faith. It must never be forgotten that faith is a decision; we are asked to put faith in a guide, we weigh the reasons, *pro* and *con*, we decide, and that is faith. After a little our faith wavers, and he whom we have decided to trust upbraids us; he tells us that we agreed to put faith in him, he asks us to be true to our promise, and upon a fair consideration we *decide* to "put faith." It is true that we exercise faith in view of evidence, but evidence is not the only condition, nor is it necessary that the evidence should be logical or irrefutable. A man may exercise faith upon very small evidence simply because he chooses to do it. A woman often intrusts her happiness to the keeping of a husband when the evidences of his fitness are very slight; the preponderance of logical proof may even be upon the other side. She chooses to believe from affectional rather than from rational considerations, nor is it necessarily an irrational faith. A child chooses to accept its father's will, not because it has rational evidence that that will is coming out right, but on conscientious and affectional grounds. The strength of our faith, too, lies in the decision of our character, and not in the clearness of our reason alone. A confused intellect may be true as steel to its trust, while the most acute thinker may find it impossible to stand by a faith which he has once exercised, even when the evidence for it remains the same as at first, simply because he may never have disciplined himself to a persistent or a self-surrendering moral choice. Unconsciously to himself, his views are affected by the moral disorganization of his feelings; for, say what we will, feeling is ever the atmospheric lens through which we view things.

Unbelief is not simply rational dissent; not infrequently it is a dry rot of the will, and a consequent murkiness of the heart. A man's views may shift simply because he himself has taken a moral somersault, because he has no inward power to hold to what he sees. It is not necessary that the element of reason should preponderate in order to an act of faith. Faith, as has been seen, may be powerfully exercised under the lead of affection; it may even turn out to be a more rational faith than that based on evidence. Love has a keen eye for personality. The child has no

logical demonstration for the existence of his father's soul, but love tells him he can trust, and faith proves the rationality of its own action by bringing heart to heart. After all, personality is the only thing with which to test personality. You may test matter with matter, but if your search is for a spirit, then it is spirit which you must apply. Faith brings the existence of God to an instantaneous proof by embracing Him, and thus supplies its own best evidence. If there be no God, then faith must collapse like a hand that clasps only a phantom. Volition might submit to a false authority, a darkened conscience or a stupid intellect might bow to an untruth, but the heart, with its great longings, its vast affections applied under the grasp of the will, *surely* the HEART knows whether or not it clasps a phantom love; it tastes and sees that the Lord is good. Faith is, therefore, not only the moral, but the rational, starting point; it would be strange if it were not, for it is Nature's order. In her school we all begin life by faith, by faith we obtain our first facts, and so advance from faith to reason, not from reason to faith.

Within the axis of the woody trunk there are two movements of the vegetative life: one outward, into branch and leaf; one inward, toward the unseen bosom of the earth, for nutriment and support. So within the axis of the human will are there two movements: one outward toward the world, issuing in conduct; another inward, toward the bosom of the Infinite. Love is the outgoing of the will. Faith is the movement by which it rests back on another for determination and support; for even as the mighty oak must needs rest back with all its giant roots upon the mountain side and draw from it the clear grit for its sturdy trunk, so must that mightier thing, a human heart, rest back on somewhat, and if there be for it no mountain side, then is it lost and helpless; but, resting back, it certifies itself of things not seen, and finds for itself the one element without which there can be no true character; the element which lies at the bottom of all self-projecting power, reliance, — a reliance that is strong, because God's will is strong.

The discussion of faith brings us to the second great law of character which appears in the Scripture, namely, the necessity of motive. The will is free, but it cannot exercise its power of choice without a motive; in other words, it cannot choose unless it has something presented to it to choose. The will of a Hottentot has as much constitutional freedom as the will of St. Paul, but it has very little practical freedom, because it has very little

motive for rational choice presented to it; undoubtedly there is the same spiritual object of choice confronting a Hottentot, for God is omnipresent, but the Hottentot is not able to choose God's will simply because he has no rational conception of it or the good contained in it; practically, therefore, he has no spiritual object to choose. A motive is a conception, presented to the mind, of the good contained in an object of choice; it is nothing in itself, yet it is a moral necessity; without it the will could not put forth a rational choice, because it would have nothing to choose. It is obvious, therefore, that in order to a choice of faith there must be a natural condition for faith in the form of a motive, and that this motive must consist in some rational conception of the good to be contained in the object chosen. Moreover, since the ultimate object of faith must be a supreme will, it is also obvious that the motive for faith must consist in some distinct and rational conception of that will as good. Faith, therefore, must be based conditionally upon a revelation and gospel of God. This, of course, is not the place to discuss the question of the divine existence; that is involved in the very fact of such a natural law as the one just considered. Faith, as has already been said, furnishes a direct test, and if faith be in truth the natural plane for the development of character, it points to the existence of a supreme will. It is fair to say, however, that if faith be, as it appears, the great fundamental law by which alone character can be vitally organized, then we should expect to find presented to us, somewhere in our social environment, a revelation and gospel of God. We have already seen that in the natural organization of society the faith of the child is provided for not only through the parental will, but through the necessity of parental government, which compels the parent to give the child a distinct conception of its will in the form of reward and punishment, and also of personal ideals.

As the parental government falls away, the growing character is forced to confront the government of the state, which objectifies for him the sovereign will of the state likewise in the form of rewards, punishments, and ideals of citizenship. These civil governments are rudimentary; they are also recognized as experimental. No civil government can reach the great inward facts of heart life; still they illustrate one great office of all government. Government exists not only to protest against the perils of disorganized character, but also to supply character with fixed conditions of healthful activity in the line of motive. Stat-



ute law, with its rewards and punishments and ideals, supplies, in part, in the moral world, what the fixity of nature supplies in the physical. Man's will, unlike physical organization, is a free force; but it is an essential condition of its true activity that it should have presented to it a fixed system of rational motives; this is the field of law. But the weakness of human law consists not only in the fact that it is evolved from human character, and is therefore necessarily imperfect and experimental, but also that it is impossible for it to deal with any element of the will but volition; it can only touch the deeds of men; it cannot have regard to moral preferences; it has no power to judge the heart, which is, after all, the real man, conduct being often a mere mask. Human law cannot summon the debased power of human choice to cast off the wicked servitude of passion and accept a sanctifying object; it has no perfect and infinite, and therefore no supreme, will to present. The province of human law ends, therefore, with the regulation of volition; hence it is reasonable to expect that, faith being the great law of character, society should present us with the environment of some higher form of government, more purely moral, reaching beyond volition to the choices of the heart, and judging volitions themselves not by some delusive outward standard, but by the moral quality which is in them. Such a government would move within a sphere interior to that of human law, and while it would provide for the ultimate conservation of rights and the suppression of that most terrible of all forces, disorganized character, its great aim unquestionably would be to develop moral choice. Looking from the standpoint, then, of the law of faith, we should confidently expect to find such a governmental force working through human society, and presenting a fixed system of motives to faith in the form both of law and of gospel. In such a system, also, we might confidently expect to find three things: first, a perfect and supreme ideal of fatherhood; second, a perfect ideal of sonship to the supreme will; third, some provision analogous to that in parental government by which the province of law may be maintained in its needful fixity, while at the same time the undeserving character may have offered to it the revelation of divine fatherhood and sonship as a good to be elected and embraced. Under parental government there is a provision of nature by which the parent is so bound up in an affectional and moral unity with the child that the character of the parent may be made a factor in the parental government. In the parental character, the child has a moral potentiality which



may fairly be reckoned as his own, provided he show a purpose to appropriate it. Physical organization, too, so links the parent to the child that he bears in his own person to a great degree the trouble resulting from the sin of the child, and there is often no severer punishment for the child than to look upon the parent thus pierced for his sins. The character of the parent revealed in his life and suffering through a common organization with the child may thus take the place of law and punishment as a factor in the parental government, and the child who responds to this method of government need not be put under the burden of a legal accountability. In fact, it may even be a serious detriment to a child's character to be held stringently to his accountability in the matter of outward conduct, for the very concentration of his mind on external details, and on the work of cultivating his volition, as well as the fear of punishment, may unduly distract his mind from the larger and more vital work of moral choice; details may crowd out ideals, and work may crowd out love. On the other hand, just as far as the child responds to the higher method, he may safely be set free from the law, the *vis a tergo* pressing fairly on him, up to the point where the higher moral force appeals, just as chemical force presses on an organization up to the point where vital force begins to act. So far as the child can be induced to lay hold of a personal ideal, showing himself susceptible to the parental sacrifice, it is best to give him the freedom of the method; if he can once be penetrated by the ideal of a filial heart, he will sooner or later shape for himself a dutiful life. If you can cultivate in him a heart of faith, he will take his own volitions in hand, and will, with friendly help, become a law unto himself. The truly great plane of parental government is, therefore, the plane of sacrifice, moving along which the character of the parent becomes a vicarious substitute for statute law and penalty, and it is precisely this element which we should expect to find provided for us in a gospel of the supreme will. As the child comes to maturity he finds himself face to face, not only with civil law, but with another element of society, namely, religion. Religion moves along this interior line of government, and professes to present the conception of the supreme will; but if we examine the religions of the world, most of them have little regard to faith, or in any way to the organization of the heart; they are occupied with controlling the volition, more securely than it can be controlled by civil government, through rewards and punishments reaching beyond the grave. Christianity alone con-

centrates its motive power upon faith. If we look up along the lines of its social activity we find that it is centred in a person, Jesus Christ. The spiritual government which He introduced was styled by Him the kingdom of God. The term Christ signified "the Lord's anointed." Christianity is, therefore, in its very name the personal ideal of divine sovereignty. It was at this point that Christ's conception of his office antagonized that of the Jews; they supposed that the Christ was to move along the plane of civil government, controlling the volitions of men by the motive of external force. The conception of Jesus was that this divine sovereignty should move along the plane of spiritual government, controlling the moral choice of mankind by the motive of a divine personal ideal. To the Jewish mind the throne of David and the legal institutions that centred round it were a permanent ethical force. To the mind of Jesus they were but a type. The path by which the true divine King conquered must be the path of sacrifice, and the exalted seat from which He should rule the world must needs be not the ivory throne of Solomon, but the cross, on which He must hang pierced by the rebellion of the human will. This divine sovereignty which He had in charge did not consist in fastening a legal system upon men, nor in the execution of certain divine statutes; rather did it consist in setting men free from the bondage of outward laws, as the true parent frees his children, by making them alive to the great personal ideals of God's fatherhood and of sonship to Him; teaching them not to walk by the law of an outward commandment, but by that greater law of filial life expressed in the words "follow me." It was equally his aim to free them from an external condemnation and from the necessity of a condemning conscience, training them to use for their purification, instead of these punitive forces, the moral element contained in the spectacle of his own suffering under their sin. To a soul thus trained, enabled as a disciple of Christ to utilize the great divine ideal of Christ's sacrifice for the purification of his own character, there is no need of any legal system; he has learned the truth which makes the children free; there is for him no judgment-seat like the cross of Christ; hell has no terror for him equal to the pain of displeasing God. He has a permanent grasp upon the personal ideal of Calvary; it is a fixed and efficient motive, mightily applied by that divine immanence which the Scripture calls the Holy Ghost. The innermost element of such a man's will is fairly within the grasp of the divine; he is crucified with Christ. Nevertheless he lives, yet not he, but

Christ, the personal ideal of God, liveth in him. He is free from the law, not free from moral responsibility, for the great standards of righteousness remain as they were. They are not legal enactments, but laws of the moral nature and conditions of moral health; but he is freed from a petty bondage to them, as a well man is freed from a narrow and painful observance of the laws of physical health. The fountain of life is his. He is free from dependence, too, upon outward forms, free from punishment, free from fear, free from the torture of his own conscience over mistakes and failures, free from the imperious obligations of an outward legality. And as God deals with him, so is he bound to deal with himself in the largeness and charity of this spiritual method: not that he may indulge himself in moral sloth or carelessness, still less in carnal passion, — that would be at his soul's peril; but he is made free from the preoccupation, the anxiety, and the drudgery of a legal obedience for a distinct purpose, namely, to engage with all his heart in a better business: a business which gives larger and more profitable moral returns, the business of faith; a business which now, as in the time of Paul, requires the undistracted application of the whole soul, volition included; a business of which a man has not learned the first principles, till he has learned how to apply for his own sanctification the mighty ideals and the motive to self-mortification contained in the sacrifice of Christ. There is a large class of persons who shrink from the idea of a vicarious sacrifice, who see no relation between the blood of Jesus and the character of man; but the drops of Christ's blood are not mere corporeal entities, — they are a revelation and a motive; as such they are a genuine and a stupendous moral force. Nor is there anything unreasonable in the suffering of Christ becoming a substitute for the punishment of man, provided that suffering is capable of acting as a motive, and so reorganizing a man's heart. If the cross of Christ becomes a supreme factor in God's moral government, it certainly may stand between a man and God's legal government; and if a man clinging to the cross of Christ can say, "This is all in all to me," as a motive for faith in God, then it is absurd to talk of Christ's mediatorship as coming between him and God. One might as well talk of the vine as coming between the branch and the forces of nature. Furthermore, if the drops of Christ's blood are to a man such a revelation of divine fatherhood pierced by his sin that thenceforth he dreads nothing so much as to displease God, and requires no other ethical force, then, surely, it is fair to say that the blood of Christ takes

away sin. Ideals, moral revelations, motives, — it is by these that the ever-present and holy will of God purifies the heart of man. The blood of Christ is vicarious, because, being a revelation, an ideal, and a motive, it adjusts the necessities of moral law, moves along the plane of government, and takes the place of punishment as a moral force.

This work of the divine sovereignty, then, was the conception of Jesus. He regarded it as his. He did not seek to be called the Christ; this, with the Jewish conception of it, would have been in his way. What He proposed to himself was to live the Christ, — to live rejected, discrowned, pierced. Furthermore, He would leave that Christ life, dishonored, discrowned, pierced, as his testament to the human race, a legacy which God would take care of, for God ever guards the property of the race. But something more was needed: men thus linked to God not only by this personal ideal of the Christ, but by the living and loving reality of the Christ himself, would be orphans indeed without Him. An entombed Christ would carry the heart of humanity with Him into the grave. Yes, the Christ must rise from the dead, must burst the tomb, must show the triumphant power of this spiritual kingdom where men most doubted it, must make a true home for man beyond the grave; aye, and within all that vast invisible realm which incloses the human soul.

This was Christ's conception of his office, as laid upon Him by God. It is needless to say how grand, how lofty, how founded upon the eternal principles of human nature and the laws of the moral universe; but what must He be who could thus present to us a perfect ideal of the divine fatherhood, of sonship, and of sacrifice, moving in all these characters along the simple plane of manhood? What must be the personality that could thus prove itself mightier than all other moral forces, mightier than death and hell, which are in their way, too, moral forces, and so through the laws of the moral universe conquer both for God and man? It is well for us that our view of Christ has come to us through the medium of those who first believed on Him. The person of Jesus gains through this method of objectification; we recognize the personal limitation of these men, but it helps us to see their genuineness and the great moral paths by which the Christ was leading them; the very weakness of the sacred writers leads us to feel yet more deeply the reality and glory of the Christ. One is forced to think within himself, there lived, there moved, among these fishermen a soul not then understood, — no, nor yet under-

stood, — for its magnitude, an all-inclusive Humanity, a supreme personal motive, that through the paths of eternity shall evermore lead on. Nor is our faith dependent, to start with, on any metaphysical construction of his incarnation; we have one positive starting point: There lived a man who left behind him, as a moral testament, a life so sinless, so divinely perfect in its ideals both of fatherhood and of sonship, so all-embracing in its love, so all-powerful in its moral choice, so resistless in its holy volition, so vast and tender in its humanity, so supreme in its sacrifice for the race, that the human soul (when morally awakened) can but feel that it belongs to him, must fain recognize in him its lover, its saviour from self, its heavenly refuge.

Furthermore, in that same Jesus we see such self-abnegation, such a bowing down of all his vast humanity before the holy height of God's fatherhood, such absorption in the divine will, such a sense of belonging to God and of being in God, that to come to Jesus is, indeed, to come unto the Father.

In fact, the Christ is that personal and moral force by which all lower and more external forces are set aside, and God himself is enshrined in the heart, reigning over us through his Son. Thus Christ takes the place of the legal system, and says to death, "I will be thy plague," and to hell, "Stand thou one side;" while He, in his might, subdues us by reorganizing our choice, not by crushing our volition.

Thus the atonement is not a work which Christ does so much as it is the self which He gives. The atonement — it is the man. Like the whole burnt offering on the Jewish altar, it is the integral life poured out unto God for man. Its range is universal as the laws of our moral nature, but since it acts as a motive, it is operative only as embraced. Thus the propitiation of Christ is not merely a judicial proceeding or a mere display of divine forgiveness to soften the heart of man, but a vast moral force, moving along the plane of natural law; and its vicarious element consists in its superiority to punishment as a means of condemning sin and adjusting a moral universe. Christ has taken away the handwriting of the ordinance that was against us, nailing it to his cross, by the reorganizing power of the personal ideals revealed on that cross. The old covenant of works which was the best possible for the volitional and childish stage of character gives way before the organizing power of this Christ personality, which makes regeneration a working force in human society, and lo! there is a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. So,



too, it is Christ that saves, not only because He, in his love and pity, founded for us this mighty ethical force, stronger than death, mightier than the grave, and so conquered death and hell for us, through his own anguish; not only because He himself wields the force, as a risen Saviour, but because He himself *is* the force. So Christ, taking his place among the forces of nature, lifts the believer by sheer moral gravity into an orbit where condemnation is a superseded element.

But the vital service which Christ does for our character consists not merely in lifting us out of the range of condemnation, but in lifting us to God. It is the reliance which He gives us upon God's will that is the *πρὸς στῶ* for our new life. As we look at the cross of Christ in our last analysis, we see that the real atonement is in the awful divine sovereignty there revealed, the eternal sacrificial will of God. He who gave his Son must first, in eternal ages, have given himself. Thus looking at the suffering of the Only Begotten for us we catch a glimpse of the hidden but agonized face of the eternal Father. Viewing the holy ideal of Christ's life, we are overcome, faults of conduct seem insignificant, our whole life seems saturated with selfishness, the more we understand of God's holy will the more displeasing we seem to ourselves to be; yet, seeing in the cross of Christ what God's will is, we are not only able, but glad, to fly to it, as a bird to its mountain, finding there not only a power able to control us, but a power that can understand and pity, and, even at its own infinite cost, will, Christ-like, save us from ourselves,—a power which, pervading the heaven and the earth, is yet present with our poor souls, as Jesus, in his tender sovereignty, was with the fishermen of Galilee.

Thus Christ is God's revelation by which He draws us to himself and governs us sacrificially by his parental will, by the which will we are sanctified. He who walks in that pathway has the justification, which consists not in the formal correspondence to outward standards, but in possessing the vital force of righteousness itself. We can understand, therefore, why a great character-builder like St. Paul should say, "I am determined to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." We can see, too, the ground of his anxiety for his regenerated converts, that they should not be distracted either by fears of punishment or by absorption with any rudimentary ethical forces, but that they should be free from the law to concentrate all their powers upon the personal ideals and personal presence of their risen



Redeemer, and so build up in themselves a loyal, supporting, supreme, and transforming faith. It is clear that the very condition of this filial freedom depended on their entire assurance of safety. There must be no phantom of law or punishment, no anxiety even about moral success, no spiritual valetudinarianism to break in upon the assurance of faith, and so mar the vitalizing power of the Christ. To St. Paul, as to every profound student of character, organization was everything, — an ounce of organization was worth a thousand pounds of correction, — and the very rock-bottom of this organizing faith is the assurance that a man is justified in thus trusting it all to Jesus; that the Christ whom he clasps is not only sufficient for the heart, but sufficient for the life, for the conduct, aye, for death also, and the judgment. Fed on this assurance of Christ's sufficiency, the soul shall grow into the true altruistic righteousness by the one great vital organic way, clad with spiritual beauty like a lily of the field without carefulness. It is evident, therefore, that he who would build up character on a large scale, or even would be secure from moral ruin, must begin by concentrating his energies on faith. To gain an almighty reliance must become the first business of life: till one has attained that his manhood must be of a puny or a shallow sort, it cannot stand much of a moral test; it may be great in passion, in nerve, or in animal volition, but these are not character, nor will they do its work; the fire of a moral crisis will soon show what stuff is in them; faith alone can give moral stamina. A fixed choice of God is the citadel of the soul. Nor will it do to forget that faith is a decision. There is many an awful doubt that is born simply of indecision of character. Such doubts can be quelled only by rousing the powers that enter into a moral choice, and setting steadfastly before them the great motive. Motives are the armor of the soul; it is the business of every man to see that his will is environed by them; there must be no trusting to luck here, nor to God, for what is plainly our part. The giants of old, Socrates, David, Isaiah, Joseph, these men buckled God's truth to their souls; by it they lived nobly and died unfalteringly.

Christianity has not done away with the buckling, but it has given us a better armor, even an heavenly; nor is the buckling to be learned in a moment, by unskilled and relaxed fingers; the animal man makes awkward work at laying hold of a divine revelation. He has much acumen in his worldly circuit of thought, but he grasps clumsily among spiritual ideals; he is bleary-eyed to

spiritual good, quick to analyze a fact, slow to discern a moral application, helpless, particularly, about binding it to himself; but it comes by sturdy persistence and by prayer, till the persevering soul is at last mighty in the Scriptures, strong in motives, not merely in theologies. He puts on the personal ideal of Christ and wears it; aye, and finds he can walk in it with a free step, like a son of God. Nor can he safely forget the passivity of faith. Faith is a state of the will in which it is by its own choice borne upon the current of the divine will; but mighty as is the will of God, it is not coercive; it is as gentle with the human will as if it were a zephyr. It is needful, therefore, that a man should watch himself; that he should wait quietly on God; that he should search the Scriptures and listen for the whisper of the Holy Ghost; that he should be careful not to initiate action, not to be self-determined, self-shaken, or self-buoyed, but always keep before his mind that one vast, all-environing fact, God's will as it is revealed in the gospel of Jesus Christ, a mighty tide, infinite yet gentle, until at last he is sustained and carried forward by one resistless flood of God-consciousness.

It is a vital thing in the formation of character to guard this passive circumference of faith, to keep well defined the vastness of God's work in us, and the relative insignificance of our own agency; only thus can we root up an agitating self-consciousness, and find the strength which is given by reposing upon the will of God. Hence the soul best retains its own part in the activity of faith when to its own eye it seems to do relatively nothing, but is wholly taken up with the wondrous work of the divine sovereignty, so that it can say, with St. Paul, "Not I, but Christ liveth in me." Nor does this larger sense of God's part in our faith exclude the consciousness of our own part or responsibility; nay, to such a trusting heart it is even more clear that it has something to do, something in which failure would be fatal. But the sense of God's almighty share in that work is so much greater than the sense of its own feeble agency that it is impossible to be otherwise than tranquil or courageous. The believing soul is in good heart for its task. In fact, all spiritual daring and fortitude depend on our steadfast growth in this alto-consciousness, this sense of Christ, the divine sovereignty within and without, of whom the soul may well say, "Lead me to the rock that is higher than I." It is by the setting of this larger fact of Christ's agency constantly before the mind that the soul escapes from the perturbations of self and walks under the shadow of God's wing, and it is the more im-

portant that the heart should thus hold fast to its shield, for it has before it a great task. It must take in hand the volition and the practical choices associated with it, and rule over them. This is the warfare of the soul. Here must it bear its cross and come after Christ.

Circumstances compel us to put forth volition, and in connection with every volition there must be a subordinate choice. This is the devil's point of attack. It is the flank of our spiritual forces. A man is in the High Priest's palace; he is challenged by a maid, "Art thou also a Galilean?" He must do something. That something involves a practical choice, for or against his fleshly instincts. Volition is weak, the power of fleshly preference is strong and quick. If the generic choice of faith be not awake, and clothed with the armor of Christ-consciousness, it will be betrayed into a course of conduct false and destructive to itself. Thanks be to Him who has said, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not."

There is no discharge in this war. The choice of faith must conquer or be conquered, and there is but one victory that overcometh. The volitions and subordinate choices must be reorganized by the same great principles that reorganized the primary choice. Our animal nature is to be ruled, not by dragging it up the precipice of self-repression, but by leading it along the incline of faith. Our fleshly preferences are best subdued by bringing them face to face with Jesus. No mandate of our own can equal the authority of his cross; no energy of our own spirit can constrain like the Holy Ghost. God's great gentle way is the best way in dealing with ourselves as with others. There is no department of our nature but can be more easily yielded into the hands of Jesus than managed by our own. Whatever part of our being enters God's kingdom must enter through faith, the grace of the Lord Jesus being held up before it as a motive. As for the pressure of circumstances, there is but one way to meet it, namely, by seeing God's hand in it. No set of circumstances, however untoward, can overwhelm a human soul, provided it can say, "He leadeth me." The flesh that cannot bring itself to bear suffering, considered by itself, may yet be trained to drink quietly the cup that the Heavenly Father giveth it. The soul that cannot be led one step by the hand of self can yet submit to be led by the hand of God, and Christ is the hand of God; by Him God leads in a way great and wonderful, yet gentle and in harmony with our nature. Christ is the cloud by day and the

pillar of fire by night. Though He remains fixed in the moral firmament, yet He comes continually into some new and illuminating relation with our advancing life. For Christ is not a motive nor an ideal standing by itself. There is no Christ apart; there is Christ and God's law; there is Christ under the order of nature; there is Christ bearing the burdens of humanity; there is Christ contending with the evils of his age; there is Christ the faithful son, Christ the brother, Christ the citizen, Christ the working-man, Christ the preacher. The divine sovereign enters into every part of life and interprets it. In the light of his life we see the divine love regnant over all circumstances, calling us to service and sacrifice for every human creature, and leading us in all manly offices by the same great ideal. The cross of Christ reveals not only the oneness of God with Christ, but the oneness of God with humanity in every detail of his struggle, and the oneness of all practical life with God's will. Thus the cross is the rationale of the universe, throwing light on all practical difficulties and giving to all events a glorious *raison d'être* and ground of faith. It enables us to accept the whole unseen contents of God's will. It leads us forward in the darkest hour, not by a divine dictation aimed at the volition alone, which would keep us in the estate of children, but by a personal ideal throwing a brighter and yet brighter light on the events of life as we learn to scan them in that light. Thus Christ crucified is the key motive, not superseding other motives, but exalting, refining, illuminating, and interpreting them; not doing away with the lesson of practical life, nor with the elective force of our own will, but shedding a heavenly radiance on both. And it is the experience of faith that when under all circumstances this guidance of the Christ is sought, by the gospel and by prayer, then there shines upon the pathway of life a clear ray from that divinely personal ideal, and there draws near to the heart that supremely loving over-soul, that living revelation of God, who walked in Galilee, that sweet and open Door of the moral world, by which the doubting is enabled freely to enter in to the whole divine sheepfold of duty, where he shall find broad pasture and everlasting rest. Nor that alone, but as he there walks and feeds he shall carry into his practical life more and more those two elements which above all others impart force to character, namely, a divine reliance and a divine personal ideal.

Thus looking out upon this universe of God, we see at the centre of religion, theology, morals, salvation, aye, all other things, one vital organizing ethical force, namely, *The Character*,

of which all so-called character is but a type, a conception more or less perfect, a radiation, a dying spark, or a living product. We see this character moving along the plane of law and triumphing for us over the moral necessity of condemnation by establishing an organic kingdom of character which is a deliverance from moral death and from legal force, and which is entered by an act of faith. So the gospel with all the theology there is in it means character.

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### THE OLD RADICALISM AND THE NEW: TWO BIRMINGHAM LEADERS.

BIRMINGHAM represents, better than any other town in England, that advanced type of English life which most nearly suggests American freedom and development. It is not called a city, because, in English usage, while the smallest place is a city if it has a cathedral, the largest is only a town if it has no cathedral. A little while since Liverpool had a bishopric established within its limits, and a church designated to serve as its cathedral, and thus it became a city, though before only a town. Birmingham has no bishop of the church, and so is not a city. It has, indeed, a Roman Catholic bishop, and it has Cardinal Newman and his institution called the Oratory, with its church, its school, and its residence for the priests who are Dr. Newman's "companions of the Devout Life." But if Birmingham is not, in the English sense, a city, it is in many respects the foremost town in England, a metropolis of advancement on English soil. Its Town Hall is a political cathedral for all England. The senior of its three members of Parliament, John Bright, is in politics a Radical Archbishop. He is not, however, a citizen of Birmingham, although he has been a member for the town for more than a quarter of a century. The English constituencies may look anywhere within the kingdom for a man to represent them. Mr. Bright lives at Rochdale, near Manchester, in the county of Lancashire, where he and his brother Jacob, now one of the members for Manchester, have a large property in cotton mills. It is only on his visits to the town that Birmingham ever sees him. But when his constituents do see him, once or twice a year, it is to some purpose,

for whatever he may say to them will be universally reported, and Birmingham gets the credit of his bold voice and his strong radical counsel. In January, 1882, I saw and heard him twice before a Town Hall audience, said to number five or six thousand. He spoke in defense of that unhappy Irish policy which put coercion before reform. It was the conservative apologist, not the radical agitator, and there was no touch in the speech of the grand eloquence and the matchless moral power which have made him so illustrious as an orator and statesman. Both age and office have tamed his boldness and his vigor. He talks now in a quiet way, with an easy distinctness, which makes his voice audible to an immense audience, but with very little of the force or fire of the great orator. What he says in his recent speeches does not amount to much. But even in a poor speech the man himself is wonderfully interesting. There is nothing remarkable in his figure, nothing whatever in his general manner. But his countenance is charming, and his hands have a delicacy and refinement which suggest great fineness of character. In many moments of even his simplest talk he is the impersonation of what Matthew Arnold calls "sweetness and light." His ordinary pleasant expression is of a singular sweetness, but now and then his whole countenance kindles into a smile, the fascination of which is like that of the rarest spiritual beauty, a loveliness almost never seen in a man. If men were to be classed as simply masculine or as womanly as well as manly, John Bright would fall into the latter class. Great as he can be in masculine strength and vigor of thought and of passion when roused and drawn out, he is in his ordinary mood not less womanly than manly. It is this fact of his character which has made some of the characteristic results of his life altogether different from what might have been expected. He has many conservative feelings in contradiction of his radicalism. He hesitates often about a call to action. He can be won to self-denial in which he denies not merely his preference but his principles, as in the sad Irish business. And his long hesitation to visit America comes apparently from the same shrinking sensibilities in connection with his delicate health. A quiet domestic scene would have been far more to his taste than the public battle in which he has had so large a share, and from which he is necessarily about to withdraw in favor of such junior statesmen as Sir Charles Dilke, Joseph Chamberlain, and John Morley.

Eminent as Mr. Morley is intellectually, and great as the prom-



ise was a few years since that Sir Charles Dilke would rise to the highest place in the front of English liberalism, it is Mr. Chamberlain who has risen most and has most come forward, as the statesman to whom, if he continues both wise and fortunate, John Bright's career will serve in history as a background. It is difficult to exaggerate the greatness of the political and social crisis which is fast coming on in England; a crisis for the church, for the throne, for the aristocracy, for capital and ownership of the soil, for the forms under which the state exists, and for the existing social order. Mr. Chamberlain has risen out of the trading class, with large self-acquired culture, with ample inherited wealth, with experience and position as Birmingham's favorite son and most successful administrator, and with an eye better than that of any man in England for the necessities of the future, the great crisis in politics and society which is sweeping on to its fulfillment.

It was in 1868 that Mr. Chamberlain, then thirty-two years of age, and a junior member in a screw-manufacturing firm which employed two thousand men, first made himself known by a very able political speech. Office at once sought him. He was chairman of the Education League, and member of the Town Council, the ablest and most reputable local body in England. He became chairman of the Birmingham School Board, and then mayor of Birmingham, for the years 1873, 1874, and 1875. Under him, and through his remarkable foresight and energy, Birmingham entered upon a period of very aggressive and progressive municipal work. First the gas-works were taken by the town, and made to pay the public treasury a very handsome profit, with gas cheapened in cost at the same time. Then the town, proceeding under an act of Parliament specially authorizing it, bought up very extensively all the quarters where the buildings were old and poor and the streets insufficient, and cleared them completely, then selling the land under conditions insuring that only buildings of superior character would be erected on it. Many parts of the town are thus totally changed within ten or twelve years, and much change is still proceeding. It is a thing to be seen in many of the chief towns of England, an amount of newness which can be seen hardly anywhere in America. Mr. Chamberlain was the magician under whose bold, energetic, and sagacious administration Birmingham began to be splendidly new, and his townsmen have commemorated the fact in a superb monumental fountain.

There is nothing about Mr. Chamberlain which would suggest the traditional Englishman. He is rather slight, dark, very nice and elegant, carefully dressed, and puts his glass into one eye quite as if he had n't an idea in his head. But he is full of both good ideas and valuable knowledge, and he can with ease, clearness and force tell what he thinks. There is nothing of the orator about him. Yet there are no faults in his speaking. He goes at the business in a pleasant, practical way; and with no apparent effort, certainly with no passion, gets his case effectively stated. If he ever guides, as it more and more seems probable that he may, a revolution of the people against the lords of the upper house of Parliament and the landlords of the vastly expanded and enriched aristocratic estates, which are a curse to the nation, he will do it without passion or bluster, with knowledge and wisdom and unyielding principle, and as effectively as his sweeping out of existence of the old rookeries of ancient Birmingham. He is a downright practical statesman, a Yankee on English soil, and no John Bull at all. His fellow-citizens call him "Joe" Chamberlain, and are justly fond of him. If he likes, he can within the remaining years of the century make a great mark in the history of England. I think he will like, for he thinks a good deal about things that are bad, and he means to do what one strong man can to make them better.

The Birmingham "caucus" was devised by Mr. Chamberlain. It is a permanent committee elected by the members of the Liberal party to serve for a year. In a small town it consists of one hundred, and is called The Hundred. In larger towns it is The Two Hundred, or The Four Hundred, or The Six Hundred. In Birmingham it is The Eight Hundred. Its duties are to get together for counsel from time to time, and to blow the Liberal trumpet. It is tremendously effective as a means of governing public opinion. Word is sent from the leaders in Parliament to the presidents and secretaries of The Hundreds to get up support for this or the other measure. All over the kingdom The Hundreds meet, and roar to the tune appointed. As the creator of this machinery Mr. Chamberlain has a hold almost without a parallel upon the springs of popular action, especially as the latent energy of the nation is increasingly Radical, and needs but to be solicited wisely to answer with overwhelming effect. With an unreformed House of Lords, desperately Conservative, no Liberal government can legislate for radical reform unless the angry peers, in their gilded saloon, hear outside the dangerous roar of an anger

more powerful than their own. When Mr. Gladstone returned to power after the magnificent defeat of the Beaconsfield government, public opinion was almost revolutionary for reform, and against the lords, and had it been called on, as it expected to be, through The Hundreds, it would have thundered in just that way which can alone make a Liberal government legislatively terrible to the reluctant lords. Unfortunately, Mr. Forster, to whom the Irish question was intrusted, made the criminal blunder of trying to conciliate the lords by coercion in Ireland, and where the organized principle and passion of the Liberals stood ready to make their great guns send terror to the Conservative heart, the word came from Mr. Gladstone, and even from John Bright, to do nothing of the kind. It was a disastrous humiliation to the eager Liberalism of the kingdom, flushed with the enthusiasm of an unexampled victory. I was myself a witness behind the scenes, after some years' residence in England, to the efforts that had to be made to repress Radical discontent. Mr. Chamberlain was then at the bottom of the list of cabinet ministers, and could only bide his time. His time has come now, or is coming. He divides with Mr. Gladstone the popular leadership of the Liberals; and when he wins, as he will win, the great post of popular, and probably of official, premiership, he will take up statesmanship where it was before Mr. Forster fell into the ditch of coercion for Ireland. He will put his back against the Liberal organization, the finest political organization in the world, and setting his face towards reform, towards revolution almost, will strike some grand blows for broader and purer justice than English use and law have ever known. It is only so far back as 1874 that Mr. Chamberlain contested the great Yorkshire town of Sheffield in the Radical interest, and, after facing a campaign of riot and rum, came out at the bottom of the poll, defeated. A few months later, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the representation of Birmingham, his fellow-citizens elected their popular mayor to a seat by the side of John Bright, and from that time his rise in Parliament, and in popular leadership, has been continuous and steady. Other reputations have waned or gone out altogether, while he has made his way ever upward. Mr. Forster proved a disaster to Liberalism; Lord Hartington, who made a fight almost as splendid as Mr. Gladstone's when the nation threw off the yoke of Beaconsfield and Toryism, has gone into Whig eclipse; the great promise of Sir Charles Dilke has been doubly clouded; John Bright lags where he once led, frankly hesitating before the issues now raised

by the Radical spirit ; and even Mr. Gladstone, whose plumes will rally a magnificent host as long as they wave in the front of popular contest, is almost ready to lay aside his armor. Mr. Chamberlain alone turns an unabashed, a sagacious and resolute eye to the perils of the state, the wrongs of the people, and the storm that hangs over Ireland. Whether to-day or to-morrow, he will reach a seat of almost unexampled power, and preside over changes the greatest ever seen on English soil.

*Edward C. Towne.*

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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### THE FREEDMAN'S CHILDREN AT SCHOOL.

THE freedman himself has been graduated. You will scarcely find him now in any of the schools or colleges established for his benefit. He has worthily received in some instances the degree of A. B., but far more often, to borrow the wit of a friend, his attainments would be better indicated by a degree of "A. B. C." He has been sent forth with such education as it was possible to give in a period of transition unprecedented in the world's history, when society was disorganized, when all the machinery of education had to be called into existence, when the best methods of training were largely a matter of experiment. The children of the freedman now fill the schools, and are taught under far more favorable circumstances. While much has been accomplished in spite of all difficulties in the past twenty years, the foundations already laid and the accumulated experience of the teachers render possible the achievement of far better results in the twenty years to come.

No race has suffered such cruel misrepresentation at the hands of the caricaturist as the African. The latest of the races to emerge from barbarism is as little able, during the childhood of its civilization, to endure being made sport of for the rest of mankind as any sensitive child would be to have his peculiarities of body or immaturities of behavior ridiculed in his presence before company. It is a much more serious matter than would generally be supposed that so many people imagine that the freedman's schools are filled with duplicates of the urchins in the "Blackville" pictures of the illustrated press, and the college benches occupied by such young men as appear on the posters of

minstrel shows. Persons of refinement and sensibility shrink from teaching humanized apes, and persons of wealth hesitate to build schools and colleges for such worthless specimens of humanity.

The theorist adds to the burlesque of the caricaturist the discouragement of his pessimistic imagination. The African, he says, cannot learn, and is fit only for manual labor; he may learn the three R's, but beyond them breaks down; he is proficient in memory, but deficient in reasoning power; if he succeeds in the higher studies it is owing to his having white blood in his veins; and yet those with mixed blood are generally weaker, physically and intellectually, than those with unmixed; finally, the African may learn, but he cannot use his education properly. Such opinions as these, widely held and promulgated by those who do not wish the freedman and his children to be educated, and breeding suspicion and doubt in the minds of those who are at least willing that they should be, have done unspeakable harm in hindering the good work.

The personal appearance of the pupils in the freedman's schools is a perpetual surprise to each new visitor. Of course everywhere, as a rule, the best of any race go to school, and they also become the best because they go to school. Among any people whose civilization has been retarded, the contrast is somewhat greater between those reached and those not reached by the school-teacher than it would be elsewhere. The most typical African physiognomy freed from the exaggeration of caricature, and illumined with the intelligence which education imparts, ceases to be repulsive. But even Nature herself has not denied the African every element of physical attractiveness. With the darkest skin and the crispest hair you will often find the erect, symmetrical, well-developed figure, shapely hands and feet, tapering fingers with narrow finger-nails, a kindly eye, a mouth full of white, exquisitely formed teeth, a sweet voice, a graceful bearing, and sometimes a genuine Oriental charm of manner. I do not mean that all these attractions are often combined in one individual, but that more or less of them are frequently found together. And in their existence I find one explanation of the fact that among Southern white people, who move daily in closest contact with the dark-skinned race, a purely personal antipathy is almost unknown; while among Northerners, whose minds are so often filled with the distortions of caricature, the antipathy is frequently very strong.

It must not be forgotten, too, that many of the freedman's

children, or rather the freedwoman's children, are also the children of the former master. The amount of Aryan blood that flows in the veins of these pupils is very great. A representative of one of the most prominent Southern newspapers recently said to the writer: "As I met your scholars coming out of school, I noticed that a large proportion of them were bright.<sup>1</sup> Have you not selected them purposely that you might more easily reach the ignorance of the race by first educating the white blood that is in it?" My answer, of course, was that no such selection was made. But the impression made upon a number of other Southern visitors as well as upon this one confirms the conjecture that there is a larger proportion of white blood in the pupils of the freedman's schools than among the colored people taken as a whole. This, too, is easily accounted for. The races have come in closest contact, and, consequently, the blood has been most freely mixed, in the cities and large towns rather than in the back country, and in those sections of the State where the white people have outnumbered the black rather than where the reverse has been true. But it is from these centres of population and from these localities of predominantly white influence that our pupils have more largely come; partly for the reason that the superior intelligence of those places awakens their desire for education, and partly because they are sometimes sent to school, and even supported there, by their white relatives and friends.

Thus the personal appearance of very many of these pupils is greatly modified by the fact that they carry in their veins the blood of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Spain, and possibly other countries. Gray and even light blue eyes are found, long curling eyelashes, straight flaxen and auburn hair, delicately formed European features, beautiful olive, creamy white, and even pink and white, complexions, and between these and the unmixed African type every sort of color and feature. Even the traces of something like a true patrician ancestry now and then seem to reveal themselves in the dignified figure and graceful address of some young man, or in the self-reliant air, the thin, dilating nostrils and curling lip of some young woman. So great is the variety of personal appearance, that when the children of our Northern white teachers take their places in school among these other pupils, they are no more conspicuous than a considerable number of their companions of the so-called "colored" race; and to persons familiar with this variety of personal appearance, they

<sup>1</sup> Meaning, in the South, *light-colored*.



are not conspicuous at all. Indeed, so common is it to expect this variety that, in two instances, younger members of our own teaching force, of pure New England ancestry, and one of them with exceptionally light blonde hair and complexion, have, when certain circumstances happened to suggest the inference, been mistaken for "colored" pupils; while the reverse mistake of the races is, as is well known, extremely common.

The ability of the freedman and his children not only to acquire an elementary education, but, in many instances, to master the usual branches of the higher education has been repeatedly attested by Southern white men who have made thorough investigation of the subject. The official reports and the private utterances emanating from the boards of visitors appointed annually by the governor of Georgia to attend the anniversary exercises of Atlanta University have, in the most unequivocal manner, given testimony to this ability. Of course, only a small minority ever seek more than the rudiments of learning. Of those who seek more, some are continually falling out. Of what race are not both of these statements also true? That they should, at present, be somewhat more true of the freedmen and their children than of other more favored pupils is nothing more than we should expect. But that there is any greater difference between the achievements of these pupils and those of other races than can fully be accounted for by the limitations originating in their previous history and their present unfavorable surroundings, I am confident cannot be shown.

In regard to the comparative ability and character of those with mixed and those with unmixed blood, no theory can be framed that will not be obliged to encounter the most conspicuous exceptions. Nearly every class will exhibit both the African and Aryan types at either end, and both are as likely to be represented in the senior class in college as in the lowest grade of the preparatory school. Even the strongest believer in the laws of heredity is obliged to take many opposing influences into the account when he attempts to formulate any theory. Here is a girl, for instance, whose superior intelligence and refinement seem easily traceable to her white father, a prominent professional and public man. But the chances were at least equal that she should have had an evil instead of a good inheritance from the white race. Here is another girl whose father was an uneducated and brutal white overseer; what shall we expect to find in her? Yet be not too swift to answer, for she is a young woman of the most worthy

character, — never otherwise, — sweet-tempered, gentle, refined, modest, sensible, a faithful wife and devoted mother. Let the principle of atavism account for the phenomenon so far as it can; but even this principle should have brought an evil inheritance from the African grandmother who once advised the girl to accept an offer of a comfortable home at the cost of her honor. Here is a boy of pure African descent who recites, with intelligent accuracy, page after page of Chadbourne's "Natural Theology," and plies his teacher with original and suggestive questions. From whom did he inherit his intellectual ability? Here are a boy and girl white enough to pass unsuspected of African lineage almost anywhere, and each of them strikingly deficient in scholarship. From whom did they inherit their dullness? And each of these illustrations could be duplicated among scholars of opposite color.

No marked difference in physical vigor is noticeable between those with mixed and those with unmixed blood. I know of cases where weakness and disease seem plainly traceable to the ill-regulated life of the white father. When we remember that in the South the intermingling of race blood has occurred nearly always in violation of both divine and human law, and that the administration of justice has dealt with it more severely when divine law was complied with than when it was violated, it seems a mystery that the sins of such double law-breakers should not have been visited in greater physical and moral weakness upon the children. One compensating circumstance is doubtless to be found in the greater knowledge of the laws of health and the greater possibilities of civilized living which have often accompanied the inheritance of white blood, while the absence of these among the purest blacks, more exposed, as they generally are, to grinding poverty and hardship in their greater seclusion from the white race, has been to them a serious cause of disease.

Moral character and the lack of it are pretty evenly shared by the two classes. Readers of Whittier will remember the little urchin described in the poem "Howard at Atlanta" as giving the general this message for the people of the North: "Tell 'em we're rising!" This boy, as black as any ever taught, has made good his words by winning honorable graduation from Atlanta University, and by rendering, for nearly a decade of years, most useful service as teacher and editor. Here is the answer he once gave to a prominent white man who came to buy his vote and influence for a certain candidate for office: "Mr. —, I was intending to vote for your candidate and advocate his election among my

people, but your offer to buy me makes it impossible for me to do either." Another graduate of the same year, with the blood of both races in his veins, went in one of the first years of his ministerial life to supply a seaboard pulpit during the summer vacation of the white pastor. The yellow fever broke out, and friends advised him to flee. But he stuck to his post, caring for the sick and dying and bereaved of his flock until stricken down with the fever himself, and again after his recovery, and never left his post until his time was out. I do not think there is any particular shade of color that could not furnish examples of similar sterling character.

The facts thus far presented have an important bearing upon the question as to the best method of educating these pupils. So far as native endowment, physical, mental, and moral, is concerned, no reason appears why their education should be different from that given to any other pupils. Even if there were such a reason in the case of those of purest African blood, we are confronted by the fact that a large number of those under instruction have more Saxon or Latin blood than African. It seems to be one of the merciful compensations of the great wrong which the white race has inflicted upon the dark that the two are now welded together in such a way as to show the identity of the human nature in both. The careful observer who runs his eye up and down the gamut of color among these pupils fails to discover any such difference in the original equipment of mind or body as to necessitate any special kind of education or any limitation to a particular range of studies.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that the freedman and his children have peculiar needs arising from the limitations of their previous history. Only a space of one or two hundred years, often a less period, separates the great majority of the race from barbarism, and only a little more than two decades from slavery. The best inheritances of civilization have consequently been denied them. They have no heritage of scholarly mind coming to them through generations of school-trained ancestors. There is no acquired power of self-control resulting from long and active experience with the institutions of self-government. There are no vast accumulations of property pledging to the maintenance of good order and stimulating to further accumulation. The safeguards and refinements of a pure family life have not been theirs. A disgust for labor, associated as it is with the degradation of slavery, is still widely prevalent. The inability of the masses to offer

employers anything more than the crudest form of unskilled labor subjects them, by competition, to a grade of wages that barely sustains life, offers temptation to theft, kills ambition, and stimulates animalism of every kind.

I am, of course, speaking of the race at large. You will find a few skilled mechanics and successful farmers. You will find here and there a mind with a good inheritance or a native endowment of scholarly tastes — a professor in some college, a principal of a high school, a successful lawyer at the bar, an able physician or skillful dentist with a large practice, a good editor, a cultivated and inspiring preacher. Some of these men — not, however, the preachers — are receiving an income several times as large as the Northern professors do who teach in the institutions where their children or kinsfolk are being educated.

But even the process of emergence from darkness to light, from degradation to civilization, is often attended with great peril. The enormous disparity existing between the educated and the uneducated members of the race presents temptations to pride and arrogance which require more than ordinary grace to resist. When a young man has received even a little education, he not only finds an instrument of great power placed in his hands, but he sees around him in the ignorant mass of his own race an unlimited field for manipulating it. Then, becoming "biggoty," as the saying is here, he will, perhaps, hurry away from his unfinished course of study, entertaining exaggerated notions of what he can accomplish with the smattering of an education. The rigor of the color line intensifies this evil by thrusting him away from competition with the white race, and subjecting him to the demoralizing influence of a low standard of excellence in the gratification of his ambition. All too readily he accepts the situation, and, in turn, builds up the color prejudice of his own race to his and their common injury. As usual, it is the *little* learning that proves to be the dangerous thing. So, too, the development of material prosperity brings the danger of foolish expenditure, vulgar display, "wild-cat" investments, and, ultimately, financial and moral ruin. A most serious peril comes to the daughters of well-to-do parents, especially when the family wealth is made to minister with exquisite taste to the adornment of very rare personal beauty, — both taste and beauty inherited, it may be, from some of the most aristocratic families of the South. How easy for such girls, by the great variety and richness of their dresses, to declare to their white neighbors, "You may despise us because we are not wholly

white, but you shall respect the splendor of our wardrobes and the capacity of our father's purse!" The blighting influence of such a use of money, not only upon the girls themselves, but upon those who possess the desire but lack the means for such display, can readily be imagined.

Further light is shed upon the educational needs of these pupils by the proscription under which they so generally suffer at the hands of the white race. Many avenues of intellectual and moral improvement which are open to all others in the community are closed to them. Libraries, reading-rooms, lectures, concerts, Young Men's Christian Associations, and churches, frequented by white people, are either closed to them entirely or else open with restrictions which compromise their self-respect. In their efforts to rise, promising members of the race are thus forced back into the bog of ignorance and degradation from which they are so eager to escape.

What, now, is the kind of education most needed by pupils having a natural endowment of physical and mental powers essentially like those of the rest of mankind, but suffering from many limitations placed upon them by their previous history and present condition? I should answer that they need the deepest, broadest, and highest education which the money, brains, and personal devotion of Christian people can secure for them.

No system of education can achieve the best results that does not begin with the child at the earliest possible age. The utter inadequacy of most of the home-training of the freedman's children, even if they have had any at all, greatly retards their intellectual and moral development when they begin the ordinary school course. If the kindergarten has a special mission anywhere, it is among these pupils. Colleges and universities for the freedman's children ought not to be ashamed to develop downwards as well as upwards. The deeper they send their roots into the soil, the higher will they eventually grow. Application is often made for admission into these institutions of pupils younger than can at present be provided for. It is hard to refuse them in the face of the moral certainty that a few years' delay in entering will necessitate the unlearning of much evil and greatly retard the process of moral and intellectual training. The teacher of drawing in Atlanta University has for some years assumed the motherly care of several little girls who could not otherwise enjoy its privileges. She has them in rooms contiguous to her own, at the end of a hall which she has made specially attractive with

pictures and draperies. She sees that these girls are neatly and comfortably dressed, watches over their health and manners, gives special attention to their moral and religious training, supplements the work of the school-room by reading and general instruction, superintends their recreation, and, in short, gives them just such personal care and companionship as a devoted mother or elder sister would bestow upon the little ones in any well-regulated Christian home. Who can estimate the good that might be done by a *kindergarten cottage* attached to every one of our higher institutions of learning for the freedman's children, where just such work as this, for boys as well as girls, could be carried on more systematically and efficiently?<sup>1</sup> Besides the good accomplished for these little ones, the observation of such a work would be of inestimable benefit to the older pupils in the collegiate and normal departments, so soon to assume for themselves the responsibilities of active life in leading and instructing the needy people of their own race, and also in training their own children. Conversely, the association of such a work with an institution for higher learning would lead more of the promising youth among these people to see and prize the opportunity of more extended and thorough training, and would thus supply the higher departments with their very best pupils.

This leads me to express my earnest conviction of the importance of the higher education for as many of the freedman's children as can possibly find or make a way to secure it. Setting aside all practical advantage resulting from the higher studies themselves, the mere fact of the long time required for their pursuit renders possible to the teacher the development of a type of manhood and womanhood otherwise unattainable. Let all knowledge acquired in such a course be forgotten on the day of graduation, and the residuum of trained intellect and heart and will would more than repay the cost. Even the elevation of the masses can be more easily accomplished by the leverage of a thoroughly trained body of leaders than by any process of dead-weight lifting. The relation of these people to their former masters, involving so much of caste proscription and almost servile dependence, necessitates the formation within their ranks of a highly educated class to command respect for their race, and to secure for them a

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above, I learn that the American Missionary Association is about to establish at Quitman, Georgia, a boarding-school exclusively for girls under sixteen. This is a movement towards what I plead for. The restriction of age might well be considerably lower.



fair chance in the struggle of life. The security of the whole body politic requires the same thing. The labor line cannot continue to be so largely identical with the color line without serious danger to the State. Half-educated laborers everywhere — educated out of a tame content with poverty, but not educated into a respect for property, delivered from the weakness of self-neglect, but not endowed with the power of self-control — these constitute the most dangerous elements of society, and a standing invitation to the craft of the communist, the socialist, and the nihilist. But when a labor conflict is intensified by being at the same time a race conflict, we have reached the extreme of political peril. Even now there are indications of the development among the freedmen themselves of a half-educated and unscrupulous leadership which bodes no good to society. The best safeguard is the development among them of a strong body of thoroughly educated men and women, capable of controlling the masses of their race, and delivering them from the snares of the demagogue, both black and white.

It is much to be regretted that the considerations just given should be so frequently overlooked by some of the friends of that most excellent work, the industrial education of the freedman's children. The lingering prejudice that desires to keep the African race in a perpetually subordinate and semi-servile condition joins hands with the short-sighted utilitarian spirit that sees no good accruing to the race from anything which cannot immediately be turned into bread and butter, and both cry aloud in favor of instruction in the industries to the exclusion of instruction in the humanities. A more serious blunder could hardly be committed. Industrial education these pupils must have, and the more and the greater variety of it the better. They need it to deliver them from the curse of an overstocked crude labor market; to save them from the aggravation of that curse by the competition of white educated labor, sure to pour into the South and crowd them to the wall if they do not preoccupy the field themselves; to enable them to build up a material prosperity that shall, next to character and intelligence, be the best pledge against communism. But without the character and intelligence which can be developed only by long and thorough training, and which can be maintained after its development only by the sympathy and support of a highly educated and thoroughly christianized body of leaders among themselves, we shall see the industrial energies of these people either exhibiting a rank growth of shoddy prosperity, more repulsive

than any that has hitherto marred our American civilization, or, at best, in a more refined but none the less demoralizing way, ministering to that excessive spirit of materialism so characteristic of our age and nation, and so ruinous, in the end, to the best vigor and influence of any people. The example of our New England ancestors in the earliest days of their struggle for a material existence, not limiting the training of their sons to labor on the farm or in the workshop, nor confining their book-learning to the elementary school, but providing, often through the most rigid economy and self-sacrifice, for their higher education in college and university, is full of useful suggestion to those who would accomplish the most in the training of the freedman's children.

Kindergarten homes to house and train a select number of little ones from a very early age; then the ordinary courses of study, from the primary school through the college course; attached to these, industrial courses in wood-working, iron-working, farming, and some of the trades, for boys, and in cooking, sewing, dress-making, general household and sanitary science, including the care of children and nursing the sick, for girls; then the professional schools for the training of doctors, lawyers, and ministers; — these constitute a system of education none too deep or broad or high for the freedman's sons and daughters. There are already universities where, by the mere force of circumstances, all or nearly all of these departments of training exist in a state of reasonable development or in embryo. It would be a most instructive sight to see them all combined under one general management, with such adequate equipment and efficient administration as the consecrated wealth and talent of our land could easily render possible. We should have a university in a somewhat new sense of the word, but one loudly demanded by the exigencies of the times, and fully justified by the good sense of thinking people.

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## EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY.

TWO recent events have awakened a new public interest in the discussion of the relation between evolution and Christian theology. Professor James Woodrow of Columbia (S. C.) Theological Seminary (Presbyterian) had been deposed from his chair by a summary process without trial, according to the very doubtful precedent set in Scotland in the case of Robertson Smith; this action has been condemned by the action of Synod, and certain of the trustees who voted him so summarily out of office have themselves resigned. Whether Dr. Woodrow will resume his chair is, at this writing, uncertain, as is also the interpretation to be given to the action of the Synod. This appears from the reports to be less an approval of Professor Woodrow's position than a disapproval of unpresbyterian methods of putting him out of office. Professor Woodrow is a Christian, not merely a theistic evolutionist. He holds to the doctrine that animal man is a development from a lower order of creation, but that spiritual life was imparted to him from above, not evolved from below. He also insists that he holds to the Westminster Confession of Faith, so that it must be assumed that he believes in a historical fall, and disbelieves in Mr. Henry Ward Beecher's now famous saying that the only fall was "a fall upwards." The other event is the publication of Mr. Beecher's "Sermons on Evolution." These sermons were preached to crowded congregations, and the interest in them was so great that they were sent verbatim by telegraph to a Chicago paper, and somewhat less fully for publication in a Boston paper, — a tribute not paid, so far as my recollection goes, to any previous course of Sabbath discourses. These sermons are now brought together and published in book form by Fords, Howard & Hulbert. Mr. Beecher is far more successful in applying truth than in unfolding it; in showing its practical aspects in its bearing on life than in formulating it in a system. He is, indeed, more systematic than most critics imagine him to be, but this system is rarely prominent in his own mind, and is never prominent in his discourses. These sermons are no exception to this general rule. They are sermons, not theological essays preceded by a text; and their aim is not so much to prove evolution, or to show the bearing of evolution on theology, as to use what may perhaps be termed an evolutionary theology in practical pulpit work. How far he succeeds in this attempt I do not propose here to consider. I only

note the existence of these sermons and the action of the South Carolina Synod as indications of the interest of the public in the general subject. For those who are least inclined to regard Mr. Beecher as a safe leader do not doubt that he possesses in an eminent degree the faculty of perceiving by a sort of sympathetic intuition what are the subjects about which men are thinking and on which they want light.

I do not propose in this paper to criticise the position of either Mr. Beecher or Professor Woodrow, nor to attempt to determine the true relations between scientific evolution and Christian theology, but only to indicate certain thoughts, or directions of thought, which the pulpit must emphasize, and which, if adequately emphasized by the pulpit, will guard perplexed minds from the dangers to their faith threatened by evolutionary theories.

The difference between natural science and theology is a difference in field and in instruments of acquisition. The scientist has external nature for his field and observation for his instrument of acquisition; the theologian has the human mind for his field and consciousness for the instrument of his observation. If it be said that revelation constitutes either his field or his instrument, the reply will be: This is true; but revelation is made to human minds by experiences wrought in human minds. Thus revelation simply enlarges the field and the instrument; it does not add a different field or a different instrument. Now the scientist tells us, and tells us truly, that the theologian is bound to accept the facts ascertained by scientific investigation. "You may preach," he says in effect, "what theological theories you please, and we shall not quarrel with you so long as you do not deny or ignore the facts of the universe; but if you preach an interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis which makes the world to have been created in a week, your preaching will come to naught, because we have ascertained as a matter of fact that the processes of creation occupied millions of years. So, if you preach a chronology that allows man to have lived on the earth only six, or eight, or ten thousand years your preaching will be in vain, because indisputable evidence makes it clear that the antiquity of man is much greater." It is certainly true that no theology can survive which denies or ignores well-established facts; but it is equally true that no scientific theories can survive which deny or ignore well-ascertained facts. And there are certain facts, interpreted, indeed, by the Bible, but wrought into human consciousness, which the scientist must recognize, or his scientific theories will come to naught.

Three of these facts seem to be inconsistent with certain forms of the evolutionary hypothesis; if they are so, it is certain that the evolutionary hypothesis will have to conform to human consciousness, not human consciousness to the evolutionary hypothesis.

1. That we are the children of God is a fact declared indeed by revelation, but one for the knowledge of which we are by no means dependent upon revelation. When Paul declared to the Athenians, "We are the offspring of God," he made his declaration not to Jews, nor to Greeks, but to pagans; and he cited in support of it neither Old Testament writings nor New Testament writings, but a pagan poet. In a word, he appealed to the universal consciousness. And it is to be observed that this declaration is more than a declaration of the fatherhood of God. That might mean simply that God has adopted us, that He vouchsafes to us a protection and a guardianship like that vouchsafed by a father to his child. But this declaration is explicit, that we are descended from God, he is our progenitor, we are partakers of the divine nature, we belong to God and He belongs to us. The fatherhood of God is not a figure; it is the fatherhood of man that is a figure, and the fatherhood of God the eternal reality. We are his, not by adoption, but by procreation. Moreover, this is a race idea. It is not individuals here and there, it is not the Jewish nation or the Christian peoples who are the offspring of God; of him the whole family in heaven and earth is named. This is the root idea in the Mosaic account of the creation of man. God formed man, Moses tell us, out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him his own life. By what process he made the physical tabernacle, that it might contain the divine image, Moses does not tell us, and probably did not know. It is not necessary for us to accept the theology of the negro preacher and suppose that God shaped a man of clay and leaned him up against the fence to dry. The material man, the man whom we observe, the man about whom science knows, was evolved from some lower elements. How long the evolution took, and what was the method of it, is a question for science, not for theology. It is one on which revelation is silent. But however this evolution was wrought, and however long time it took, when it was completed the divine spirit was imparted. The physical and animal in man comes up from below; but there is also a divine in man which descends from above, which was not and could not be evolved.

Now the evidence of this is not in the first chapters of Genesis nor in the seventh chapter of Romans. It is in man himself.

The first chapter of Genesis and the seventh chapter of Romans simply interpret the dormant consciousness of divinity. The human soul answers to the appeal of its father. As one string vibrates to the sound of another, so the spirit of man to the spirit of God. We are in accord; or, if not, if there is a dissonance, the pain of the discord no less than the beauty of the harmony illustrates the true nature of the spirit in man. Evolution may explain as it will the process by which the observed man, the material and animal man, were developed from lower forms, — and there is much in comparative anatomy and physiology and in the science of embryology to support its explanation, — but if it denies or ignores the divinity that is within us, which reaches out toward and answers to the divine without us, it will come to naught, because it will contradict the invincible testimony of human consciousness. And I venture to suggest that the minister who does the most to awaken this divine consciousness in the souls of men, and who leaves severely alone doubtful interpretations of the first chapters of Genesis and doubtful discussions of scientific theories about which he cannot know very much, will do the most to strengthen the faith of his people against whatever irreligious tendency there may be in the evolutionary hypothesis in its extreme forms.

2. No less certain is it that mankind has sinned and come short of the glory of God. It is difficult to write on this subject without a certain appearance of cant, because cant has vitiated even the language, as it vitiates everything it touches with its polluting breath. But it is certain that guilt and imperfection are not synonymous. We often, it is true, punish as guilt what is only imperfection, and overlook as imperfection what is guilt. This is due to a defect in perception, not to an inherent and generic resemblance between the two. The babe is imperfect and must grow to manhood; but the babe who has scarlet fever must be cured of a positive disease. The child who stammers and stutters over his alphabet must grow wiser; but the child who willfully declares, "I will not say my alphabet," requires something else than growth to set it right. Immaturity is not sin; animalism is not sin; the predominance of an animal nature is not sin. Gluttony is not guilt in a hog; the more he eats the better hog he is. Fierceness of passion is not crime in a bull-dog; the better the breed the fiercer the brute. Sin is always a fall; when we sin we go down from a higher to a lower life. The first chapter of Genesis is undoubtedly a poem, and there is much to indicate that the



second and third are also poems. The talking serpent, and the tree, and the garden, and the exclusion of the man and the woman from it, in any other book would impress the average reader as belonging to the literature of allegory. But whether it be a poem or not, it is certain that every man has written for himself a third chapter of Genesis which is a most prosaic and a most mournful fact. Every broken resolve, every high purpose lowered, every sacrifice of reverence to sensual desire, of conscience to passion, of love to greed or ambition or wealth, is a fall. The story of every individual, the story of the race, is a story of successive falls and restorations. For sin and fall are race facts; the men who have gone down from their higher to their lower nature, who have violated their better and nobler impulses, who have disobeyed the law written within them, are not the exceptions. I once conducted prayers in an inebriate asylum and read without comment the seventh chapter of Romans. Three or four of the men came to me after service to ask for the place of my reading; they wished to re-read it. "It describes," said they, "exactly our condition." This is the true story of the fall, and it is a transcript of every human experience. Nor is it confined to individuals. Modern Greece has fallen far below the Greece of Phidias, of Solon, and of Plato; the Italy of to-day is many degrees below the Italy of the Roman republic. He who will compare the moral utterances of a Jefferson and a Madison with those of the pro-slavery political leaders who carried the Southern States into the war for secession will hardly doubt that the South fell a long way in half a century. This experience of sin and fall is a fact, not a theory. Science may, indeed, say it is not a physical fact and we have nothing to do with it; but any hypothesis which it proposes for the explanation of the mystery of life must take account of this fact. If it denies or ignores sin and fall, it denies or ignores the most patent fact in history, national and individual; and any philosophy of life which leaves this out of account will, and ought to, come to naught. I beg leave to still farther suggest that that preacher who emphasizes the fact of sin and fall, who succeeds in awakening in the consciences of his hearers a personal sense of their own sin and fall, and who leaves severely alone doubtful interpretations of the third chapter of Genesis and doubtful discussions respecting the origin of the race, will be most successful in counteracting whatever danger there may be of intellectual pride and self-satisfaction in the evolutionary hypothesis in its extremest forms.

3. The third fact made clear by revelation, but tested and confirmed by science, is that of redemption. As sin and crudeness are different, so are redemption and growth. Development will cure crudeness; but only redemption will cure sin. Sunshine and time will make the twig and tree; but sunshine and time will not take the worm from its root nor the borer from its heart. Development will make of an imperfect animal a splendid animal; but development will never change the animal into the spiritual, the dead into the living. This must be done by the play of a higher nature on the lower, by a coming down in order to lift up. The child may outgrow many of its immaturities and crudities; but it can be redeemed from its deliberate wrong-doings only by the power and the personality of a higher and better nature, — the father's, the mother's, the teacher's. The nation may grow from a colony to a commonwealth; but if slavery has fastened upon it, slavery will grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength, and nothing will suffice to redeem the nation from its guilt and curse except a strong and noble nature, full of divine truth and love, appealing to the sense of justice and humanity in its citizens, — in other words, to the divine sleeping in the heart of the nation. Material forces may give it growth; only immaterial forces can bring it redemption. A Vanderbilt with his railroad, and a McCormick with his reaper, may enlarge its resources and its boundaries; but only a Garrison or a Phillips can emancipate it from its bondage. As with the child and the nation, so with the race. The question at issue to-day between the two schools of philosophy is not primarily whether the development of the race from low-down beginnings has been carried on under the supervision of God or without his supervision, — it is far more fundamental: it is the question whether there is any divine power bending down from the heavens to lift up into heaven a race into which the breath of a divine life has been breathed, but which has poisoned itself by a vitiated atmosphere, and is well-nigh dead from spiritual asphyxia. No soul, and so no aggregation of souls, can climb up to God; He stoops down and lifts us up to himself. And so I venture finally to suggest that that preacher who lives nearest to God, whose fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, and who thus brings to his people not a theory about God, but the living God in his own Person, and who leaves severely alone doubtful disputations about theories of atonement and expiation, will do most to guard the faith of his people from the dangers which are threatened by an evolutionary hypothesis

which in its extremest forms denies the guilt of man and both the need and the possibility of the redemption to man. For if there has been wrought into the soul a personal sense of divine sonship, a consciousness of sin in falling away from it, and a hope of restoration to it through God's love coming down from above and bringing new life, no scientific theories of either man's origin or man's development will impair this spiritual life or prevail against it.

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## EDITORIAL.

## PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

## VIII. CONCLUSION. CHRISTIANITY ABSOLUTE AND UNIVERSAL.

THE series of theological articles which is now completed has been a discussion of the principal doctrines of the gospel, in order to recognize some of the lines along which advancing Christian thought has more recently been moving. We have considered the Incarnation, the Atonement, Eschatology, the Work of the Holy Spirit, the Christian, and the Bible, to discover in what respects clear and positive improvement has been made on statements of belief which once had general currency. We have not pretended to create a theology, but only to modify or to enlarge established doctrines. When we have used the term *New Theology* it has been only as a convenient designation of a fresh movement in theological thought, only as the symbol of a quickening which we share in common with many others. In the exact use of terms there can, of course, at this late day, be no such thing as a new theology. We are not so silly as to suppose that modern religious thought is independent of an ancestry. Sturdy growth has old roots. The truth we study has engaged earnest thought throughout the Christian centuries. We have only attempted to show the directions in which generally accepted principles are pushing on to new and larger applications, and to learn also, by means of applications which can scarcely be ignored, the real significance of those principles which are, and always have been, potential of such results. Now that we can look back over the course which has been traveled, it is easier to perceive the kind and degree of progress achieved than when we were engaged on the separate topics.

A single principle has for the most part guided the development of thought in the series, and this because it is the principle which is dominating more and more regally the intelligent Christian thought of our time; a principle which will no longer be confined within limits too narrow to contain it, nor tolerate the company of theories inconsistent with the truth it expresses. Readers cannot fail to have observed the emphasis we have laid on the universality of the gospel. We have assumed Christianity to be the final and supreme revelation of God to man, a revelation intended for the whole human race and destined to supersede all other religions; and all the way along our inquiry has been concerning the reality of this principle. What is involved in it? How far does it carry us? What value and power reside in the religious knowledge men gain apart from the gospel? How is this universal gospel related to those large numbers of the human family who are entirely ignorant of it, and to the generations that have passed away without knowledge of it? We have been very far from affirming that the universality of the

gospel has been only recently recognized, or that only the few accept it. On the contrary, we have taken for granted that no one among so-called evangelical believers for an instant denies it. It is one of those postulates which can be assumed without debate in every discussion concerning the truths of the gospel. We have been asking ourselves, and have been asking our readers, not, Do you believe that Christianity is the supreme and universal revelation of God to men? but, How much do you mean by its universality and absolute supremacy, and can you believe as you do in this respect, and at the same time entertain certain opinions which seem to be excluded by the claims and the scope of Christianity? To believe that besides the name of Jesus there is none other name given under heaven amongst men whereby there can be salvation, to believe that our Lord spoke truly when He said, "No man cometh to the Father but by me," is of necessity to have corresponding opinions concerning man's power to know God without Christ, and concerning God's purpose to give men that knowledge and motive in the absence of which they cannot be saved. It is this enlarging thought of the gospel in its universality which is bringing embarrassment on the defenders of all theological systems which would confine the gospel within limited and arbitrary boundaries. It is this more generous recognition of the scope of the gospel which, while it inspires a larger hope for the unchristian nations, at the same time animates a great courage in proclaiming among them the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that only with a great price has this freedom been obtained. Not to mention earlier conflicts, we are scarcely yet out of the sound of warfare concerning the *extent* of the Atonement. It is not necessary to go out of the present century, nor indeed back of the older generation still represented among us, to find ourselves by the side of those who contended earnestly for a universal as against a limited atonement. The greatest service of the New England Theology was in gaining general assent to the universality of atonement. In the ethical field its service was less permanent, though at the time more highly extolled. While it was, perhaps, enough to expect of one generation that it should restore to use an essential principle, yet it must be admitted that the New England Theology failed to apply consistently the truth it had rescued. To this generation the task remained of bringing other facts and opinions into harmony with the principle of universality. Our fathers were concerned to show that universal atonement does not of necessity procure universal salvation. The difference was marked between sufficiency and efficiency, between atonement and redemption. The great outside world of heathendom being impenetrable and practically unknown, the question had not become pressing, how an atonement could be universal while nine tenths of the human race, through many centuries, had been left in total ignorance concerning it.

Yet, although this universal character of the gospel is now generally recognized, it may be claimed that at the present time conviction of it is

deeper because its grounds are better understood. In the former time, besides the quotation of specific texts, it was customary to argue universal atonement from the divinity of Christ. A divine Saviour must be a Saviour sufficient for the redemption of all men. But we also find in the humanity of Christ, with equal reason, the universality of the gospel. As shown in the article on Incarnation, the characteristic of his humanity is that He stands in universal relation to his brethren. He is the universal man, the head of humanity, the Son of man. Also, and this is perhaps the most considerable of recent enlargements in Christian thought, we are finding in the scriptural teaching of judgment by Christ confirmation of his universal relation to men. We are learning that this means more than that the judgment is divine and therefore cannot mistake, more than that it is sympathetic and therefore will not be severe. Since Christ is to judge the world, we know that the decisive fact for every man is his relation to Christ. In the supreme day the secrets of men are to be judged by Jesus Christ according to the gospel. Every man's judgment, his *κρίσις*, is in relation to Him who has authority to execute judgment *because He is the Son of man*. The Redeemer is the judge. Redemption and judgment are correlative. As redemption is the final and supreme revelation to man, no more sacrifice remaining, so the irreversible word of destiny is pronounced only in view of each individual's acceptance or rejection of Christ. Thus, on every side, as the gospel is better understood, fresh confirmation is found of its universality, and all theories of the condition, salvability, and destiny of men must be shaped in conformity with the unbounded power, claim, and promise of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

We have, therefore, reaffirmed three important postulates of Christian thought and effort: universal sinfulness, universal atonement, and the indispensableness of faith in Christ.

By the first we mean that man's sinful state is such that he has no power of deliverance from it. This consideration is more important than a determination of the degree of his guilt. How guilty any man is can be known only to God. What judgment will be or should be passed on this or that individual our knowledge is not sufficient to show, although we, of course, believe that it will be a righteous and merciful judgment. The important fact is that all men are so under the control of sinful habit and sinful character that they have not in themselves the power of renewal. Although some are less guilty than others, although some will receive a more lenient judgment than others, the facts remain that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, and that left to themselves there is no hope of salvation.

The universality of atonement has been insisted on both in the article on that subject and again in the present paper.

The indispensableness of faith in Christ in order that sinful man may be restored to sonship with God has been repeatedly affirmed and continually assumed.



We have accepted these postulates in their length and breadth. We have not reduced but rather have magnified their meaning. We are perfectly aware that a tremendous claim is thus made for Christianity, in respect both to the sufficiency of atonement and to the exclusion of any other way of salvation, but we believe the claim is explicitly supported by Scripture, and inseparable from any just thought of Christianity as a divine revelation.

A natural inference from these premises is that every one will know God as He is revealed in the love and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. If Christ was given for the whole world, and if no one can be saved except by faith in Christ, we are almost driven to the conclusion that Christ will be made known to every individual of the human race in all the generations past, present, and future, and that everlasting destiny is determined for every person by his acceptance or rejection of Christ. This conclusion we have therefore gladly and unhesitatingly adopted. We have not, however, expressed as positive an opinion concerning the circumstances and seasons within which Christ will be revealed to those who do not know Him in the earthly life. But we frankly admit that it seems to us probable that those who in this life have no knowledge of Christ will not be denied that knowledge, with its corresponding opportunity, after death. Still, so much that is perplexing remains in respect to God's dealing with the nations of heathendom that we will not be so presumptuous as to press our opinion on any who are not ready to receive it, nor so vain as to suppose that we have found a complete solution of one of the deepest mysteries of God's government of the world. We are content to maintain these three postulates, and to let them establish such conclusions as appear most reasonable in the light of candid and reverent reflection.

Sometimes acceptance of a truth becomes more confident when the alternatives to it are clearly recognized. If this or that alternative must be rejected, the opinion which remains will have more probability. The alternative is to surrender one or more of the three postulates we have mentioned. It may be denied that man has in himself no power to escape from sin, or that atonement is universal, or that faith in Christ is indispensable to salvation.

One alternative, then, is the theory that atonement was made only for the elect. God chose some from all eternity unto salvation. Then He sent his Son to redeem them, but not to redeem any others. Atonement was made for only part of the human family. It was sufficient for the purpose. So, besides the elect who have actually known Christ, there are elect infants and elect heathen who in some mysterious way are saved by means of the Atonement. This theory surrenders the second postulate. The Atonement is not universal. It holds that sin is universal, and that faith in Christ is indispensable, but denies that the Atonement is universal. It has the merit of consistency. There is no need to argue the question how Christ could have suffered for the whole world, while yet the vast majority of men die without knowledge of Christ, for it is not admitted

that Christ did suffer for the whole world. But its consistency is bought at a terrible price. The conception of God is unscriptural, the doctrine of Christ is unchristian, and that sentiment or consciousness which is the product of the gospel is outraged. That alternative we have not even argued. Such a gospel cannot be preached. Such a God cannot be loved.

Another, and really the only other, alternative is the surrender of both the first and third postulates. By implication it is denied that faith in Christ is indispensable to salvation when it is argued that those who have not the gospel can be saved from their sins notwithstanding. If the light of reason and conscience is sufficient, then man can release himself from sin without the truth and love of Christ. This theory was argued at length in the article on Eschatology. It is enough now to emphasize certain considerations which were urged before, but which seem to have been overlooked by some who have discussed that article.

If this theory means that man of himself can come to his normal state of holiness and likeness to God, we have replied that the evidence from facts is meagre and extremely uncertain, and that Scripture repeatedly affirms the contrary. The instances of exceptional virtue usually cited are not sufficiently conclusive to warrant us in abandoning belief in the necessity of faith in Christ. We are not yet ready to admit that there is another name given under the Asiatic heaven whereby the Chinese can be saved, and another way open in Africa whereby a man can come to the Father. God may and does prepare *conditions* in the development of nations, and even of individuals, into which the truth of Christ can come and work with mighty power. The soil is made ready providentially, but the seed is always the word of the kingdom. The truth by which man is justified and sanctified is the truth as it is in Jesus, who is the wisdom of God and the power of God to every one that believeth.

But were there not pious Jews before the time of Christ who were saved, and who at death entered immediately into blessedness? Whatever may become of our theory, we can answer this question only in the affirmative. How, then, does it appear that knowledge of Christ is indispensable to salvation? And if they were saved by living up to the light they had, why may not conscientious even if more ignorant heathen also be saved? To these questions we must reply, as we replied before, that the knowledge of God granted to the Jews was different in kind from the knowledge attainable by others, and that we therefore are not justified in arguing from the Jews to the Gentiles. The Jews occupied an exceptional position. They were the recipients of a special revelation from God. They were vouchsafed a knowledge of God along lines which led on to the complete revelation in Christ. They knew the righteousness and compassion of God. Above all, they had learned that God seeks man in pity and forgiveness for his redemption. With Abraham in some dim but real vision they saw the day of Christ. This would prove that it is not indispensable to salvation that one should know Christ in

the actual circumstances of his earthly work. But there was a real foreshadowing of Christ such as was not opened to the Gentile nations. That revelation, even now, is found to have been so intimately related to the complete revelation in Christ that we bind up the record of it with the gospel to make our Bible in its indissoluble organic unity. It may also be repeated that the belief has always been cherished that devout Jews were brought after death to their full salvation through the knowledge of Christ. But the Jews present no real exception to our principle, for salvation was made known to them through the atoning and redeeming love of God, and Judaism is inseparable from Christianity. But when we are asked to go farther, to argue from the Jews to the heathen, from the Psalms to the Vedas, from the Prophets to the books of Confucius, to believe that the light of reason and conscience without any revelation whatever differs not in kind but in degree only from Christianity, we confess ourselves unable to follow. When, in order to save the postulate of faith in Christ (for there evidently is no other reason, since observed facts would never suggest it), when it is soberly argued that the comparatively good heathen are saved by their faith in Christ, although they never heard of Him, that Christ is essentially known when He is not known at all, we really must be excused from making so fanciful discriminations. It is intelligible that those who do not know Christ during the earthly life will be lost, for want of that knowledge; although we cannot bring ourselves so to believe. It is intelligible that those who do not know Christ during the earthly life may yet live so righteously that they will have a place in the kingdom of the redeemed at last; although such persons are confessedly seldom found, and when they are supposed to be found it is believed that they ultimately know God in Christ, and thus only are redeemed from their sin. It is intelligible, and we think probable, that those who do not know Christ during the earthly life will know Him in the life beyond. The extension of time seems necessary to the absolute and universal religion. But it is in our opinion neither intelligible nor probable that men are saved by a Christ of whom they know nothing whatever. This theory we can best characterize still as salvation by magic. We have pondered it well, and think it leaves Paul's question still unanswered: "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?" We are slow to conclude that men are saved from their sins and restored to sonship with God without knowing Christ and believing in Him. We are not convinced that character becomes fixed in righteousness and likeness to God apart from the gospel. Some conscientiousness there may be, some moral amendment, some conformity to the light given. In such cases men are not hopelessly condemned, for they are *capable* of salvation. But are they redeemed from sin? Are they walking in newness of life? Have they the purity and liberty of the children of God? Would there not be radical changes if Christ were known and received? Let us remember that the question is not

concerning the blameworthiness of those who have been obedient to the light they have. The question is whether any besides those who receive Christ have power to become the sons of God, whether they can be saved in any sufficient meaning of salvation unless either before death, or at death, or after death, the light of the knowledge of the glory of God shines upon them in the face of Jesus Christ.

Not only do we believe that character does not become permanently crystallized into holiness by the aid of reason and conscience alone, even if such light (in some sense unintelligible to us) is equivalent to Christianity, but we also believe that, in the vast majority of cases, character does not become permanently crystallized into wickedness, so that salvation through Christ becomes impossible. If the heathen are still capable of salvation through Christ, can we believe that because an inert church fails to preach Christ to them during their earthly life they will therefore never have the opportunity of knowing Him? It is sometimes said that if Socrates had known of Christ he would have believed in Him, and it is therefore supposed that after death he did know Christ. That is, Socrates at death was still *capable* of salvation through Christ. Neither more nor less than this is meant. But who shall draw the line between those heathen who are and those who are not capable of salvation? Can one walk up and down in heathendom, and, as he proceeds, point to this one, and that one, and another, who have become incapable of repentance and renewal? Will one stand on the threshold of his little church and turn away certain persons because he clearly perceives that even the gospel of Jesus Christ is powerless to save them? Certainly an African, a Japanese, an Australasian, sinks into deep debasement. The corruption seems incurable. But would any missionary board send out a preacher who intends to labor only for those who show some remaining signs of moral health? Whatever may be the fact, we certainly have not a knowledge of men sufficient to warrant us in affirming that any one to whom Christ has not been made known is already incapable of salvation. We do not dare to affirm as much of any individual who has apparently become fixed in wickedness and unbelief under the full blaze of the light of the gospel. The mighty working of the Holy Spirit in corrupt hearts has so often reversed our judgment that we have learned to despair of none. Much less, then, is it permissible to conclude that any heathen, however wicked he may be, but who has not heard of Christ, is hopelessly lost. And if such a one goes out of the world, as millions do, without knowledge of Christ, who shall dare to say, in the absence of any word of Scripture to that effect, that the clear light and the mighty motive of the gospel will be withheld forever?

It seems to be thought by some that our principal contention has been to show that no one can be *saved* without knowledge of Christ, and that if a few exceptions could be discovered our principle would be overthrown. But we have been endeavoring to show that no one can be *lost* without knowledge of Christ. The Jews and the pious heathen have

been cited to prove that salvation is possible without knowledge of the historic Christ, and consequently it has been concluded that our principle breaks down. But even if we should have to admit that some abatement must be made from a strict interpretation of our principle so as to make room for these exceptions, we should still press the main question. The real difficulty is that millions of men die, not only without knowledge of the gospel, but also without showing signs of moral renewal, and we ask, Are all these multitudes, through so many generations, hopelessly lost? Opinions may differ about the salvation of the few exceptionally virtuous heathen. But opinions cannot differ about the masses of heathendom who die in their sins. Must we, can we, believe that they are eternally damned? Is it possible that God will never bring to them the light and motive of the gospel of Jesus Christ? We think, indeed, as we have repeatedly argued, that salvation in any proper sense of the term is realized only by faith in Christ, that conscientious heathen have only a capacity more or less for redemption. Neither have we at any point so narrowly interpreted Christianity as to limit knowledge of Christ to acquaintance with the facts of the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth. We have meant knowledge of God's atoning and redeeming love, which the Jews received dimly without knowing the historic Christ; which, we believe, is given after death to those who, seeing Him for the first time, see Him as He is perhaps without the intervention of biography and history; but which, we think, is not in any intelligible sense given to the heathen nations before death. Therefore, when it is asked, Are not some persons saved without knowledge of Christ? we answer, Possibly; although, except the Jews, to whom a revelation was made, redeemed persons outside Christendom are admitted to be exceedingly few. But when all has been conceded on that side that can possibly be claimed, the real difficulty remains as grave and persistent as before. Are multitudes of men lost without knowledge of God's atoning and redeeming love in Jesus Christ? Can they be finally and absolutely condemned if they have known nothing of God's final and absolute revelation of himself to mankind? Can any one be hopelessly lost who has not so much as heard of Him who tasted death for every man? We, therefore, contend that universal judgment by Christ means that every man is to be judged by his relation to Christ; that no one will be forever condemned unless he has rejected the salvation which is in Jesus Christ.

It should, perhaps, be explicitly stated, in order to prevent misapprehension, that our opinion that the heathen after death will obtain knowledge of Christ does not mean that their probation continues on and on till the day of judgment, while the probation of others is limited to this life. That knowledge of Christ which is decisive may come immediately after death, so that probation speedily comes to an end. Our contention is that destiny is determined by one's relation to Christ, and that therefore to every one Christ, sooner or later, will be made known. The



judgment day is the end of probation for the race as a whole. Then every land, every nation, every generation, will have known Christ as Redeemer. But the limit of probation for countless individuals will long since have been passed, for many who did not have the gospel in the earthly life, as well as for the many who did have it in the earthly life. The revelation given in the disembodied state may be so luminous that the actual time will scarcely be appreciable between the moment of death and the moment when Christ is decisively accepted or rejected. And yet, with some, we can easily imagine that protracted processes of education and discipline may be necessary to make them ripe for decision. We do not argue, then, for a second probation, nor for a probation indefinitely prolonged, but for a Christian probation, sometime and somewhere, and for a Christian judgment under which all the individuals of all the nations, and all the generations, will receive the allotments of eternal destiny.

It is instructive to observe that nearly all who for various reasons cannot believe that the heathen may have knowledge of Christ after death are confessing their inability to reach any definite conclusion whatever. A common answer to questions concerning the destiny of the heathen is, We do not know. This view is sometimes called Christian agnosticism. Besides our own, we believe this to be the only tenable position. The manifest inconsistency of the theories we have criticised is driving them from the field. Christians are at least becoming certain that there are some opinions they cannot hold. One candid editor says that no Scripture denounces endless woe on heathen who have never heard of Christ, and that, therefore, we cannot be required to believe that their doom is hopeless; that when the few sporadic instances of "pious heathen" are pointed to for relief they are found to be inadequate to solve the tremendous problem. He therefore relegates the whole matter to infinite wisdom and justice and love. He does not believe that the heathen are lost, nor that the few moral, even if essentially Christian, heathen relieve the immense difficulty, and therefore he is a Christian agnostic, committing the world in triumphant faith and hope to the Infinite Father. He explicitly declares that we can neither see nor affirm what becomes of the heathen hereafter. To this conclusion a majority of Christians have probably come. It certainly shows great progress that this position is quite generally held. Much is gained when untenable theories are intelligently abandoned. It is an important discovery as well as admission that the Bible nowhere teaches that heathen who have never heard the gospel are hopelessly lost. Therefore, when it is said that the Scripture does not teach that the heathen have opportunity of salvation after death, we can at least reply that it does not preclude that hope, for it nowhere teaches that the heathen are lost, and that their opportunity is limited to this life. But we have no contention with the agnostic, and we think he has no reason to have contention with us. We are agreed in rejecting certain outworn and unchristian theories. He does not deny



that God's way *may* be to give knowledge of Christ after death, only he is not at present convinced. He will admit that such a method is not unworthy of God nor unreasonable in itself. When ignorance is confessed under the saying that God will do what is right, we, of course, agree. No one believes that God will do what is wrong. Our conviction, however, is that the revelation of God in Christ enables us to understand in certain respects what is right for God to do or not to do. We believe it is right for God to judge the world by Jesus Christ, for we therefore believe that the judgment of men is determined by their relation to Him who has already been made known to them as Saviour. Agnosticism on this subject is likely to be temporary. It is a resting-place where one stands who has cut loose from unchristian theories. Search of the Scriptures and profounder study of Christianity will be likely to carry him on to the principle we have so often enunciated and emphasized. We think agnosticism can properly remain only concerning the mode in which that principle will be applied to men in the great variety of their moral conditions.

We have dwelt on the relation of the heathen world to the gospel longer than might seem necessary. The reason is that the gravest objection to the universality and absoluteness of Christianity is at this very point. The Scriptural representations of the gospel, and its intrinsic character, show it to be universal; yet, as matter of fact, only a small fraction of the human race in the long succession of the ages has even heard of Jesus Christ. How, then, it may fairly be asked, can it be considered the universal religion? The acute Strauss urges the force of this objection. He declares that, since so large a portion of mankind know nothing of Christianity, it cannot be necessary to salvation, because not the universal religion; and that, if certain virtuous heathen are saved, then the gospel is proved not to be the universal religion, because not necessary to salvation.<sup>1</sup> The only reply is that until the gospel does fill the whole earth knowledge of it must be given after death to those who are deprived of its blessings before death.

We need not linger to review the several articles of our series in the light of the absoluteness of Christianity. The Incarnation shows Christ the universal man vitally related to the whole human race. The Atonement shows Christ suffering with the race and for the race, and thereby giving mankind a power it could not otherwise have. The Holy Spirit uses as highest and final motive for every man the truth as it is in Jesus. Man can be brought to God only through Christ the Saviour of the world. The Bible is the supreme authority for man, because it embodies the gospel of the only begotten Son of God.

We have also endeavored to show that there can be no stronger motive to missions than a clear recognition that the gospel is absolute and universal. If one believes that the heathen are doomed, and that all of them who die without hearing of Christ are forever lost, he has, indeed, an

<sup>1</sup> *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, I. pp. 268-274.

urgent motive to send or carry the gospel to them. But a more inspiring motive is found in loyalty to Christ, in obedience to his last command, in laboring with Him for the extension of his kingdom, in gaining for Him those who are his own and for whom He died. At the recent great missionary meeting in Boston it was noticeable that the motive urged was the universality of Christianity, the relation of Christ to the race; and that scarcely a word was uttered concerning the doom of the heathen. Whatever may have been believed by the majority of the assembly as to the fate of the heathen, it was evidently felt that the influential motive is the universality of Christ's redemption and kingdom, and the need all men have of entering into that kingdom. But we may not make inquisition into motives, nor insist that others shall be impelled by the identical motive which urges us on. Neither of these great motives is a selfish motive. Love for men is in them both. Paul was not half as careful as those would be now who can discover but one motive for preaching the gospel. He knew that some preached from very low motives, but he would not hinder them. "Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will. . . . What then? only that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed, and therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." We may not discourage those who preach Christ because they believe that the heathen not having the gospel in this life are hopelessly lost. Neither may they discourage those who go forth with enthusiasm to proclaim Christ who is the only Redeemer and rightful King of men, and whose kingdom is a universal and an everlasting kingdom.

Both in respect to our thinking and our toil we may share the expectation of the great apostle who was both theologian and missionary, when he said, "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

The series of articles has elicited considerable discussion from the religious press. Some comments have been favorable, others decidedly unfavorable. Issue has been taken chiefly with the article on Eschatology. The criticisms have followed several lines.

One method has been to quote a single sentence out of its connection, and then to satirize it. Apparently only one sentence available for such a purpose has been discovered. It reads as follows: "There is much reason to believe that this present life is the most favorable opportunity for moral renewal in Christ."

The editor of a Presbyterian journal is entitled to the credit of detecting this sentence. He ridiculed it in his paper, and other papers quoted the same sentence for the same purpose. In most cases it was evident that our article had not been referred to at all, but that the offending sentence had been quoted at second hand. As the sentence stood in its connection its meaning seems to us unmistakable. It could have been

made clearer only by an interjected phrase, as "There is much reason to believe, *independent of the foregoing considerations, that,*" etc. The meaning was at once made clear by the observation that as Jesus wrought out the gospel on earth we might conclude from that alone that the earthly life is the most favorable time to receive Christ. But in the very same paragraph we had emphasized the urgency of the gospel for immediate repentance, with the fact that to those who have it now there is not the slightest encouragement that any other time than the present will be available for repentance. And yet several religious (?) papers were willing to push the article aside without further notice. The Chicago "Advance" only, so far as we know, had the fairness to correct the imperfect quotation by subsequently printing the entire paragraph. The impression has been made upon us that our opponents were *looking* for a sentence that could be detached for purposes of ridicule, and that they deliberately ignored not only the main positions of the discussion, but even the immediate connection in which the sentence stood. The only other explanation that occurs to us is density of mental apprehension on the part of such critics, but we will not offer it, because we have often observed that a charge of stupidity is more obnoxious than a charge of perversity.

Another line of attack has been the repeated assertion that the editors of the "Review" have expressed opinions in the article on Eschatology inconsistent with the creed which, as professors in Andover Theological Seminary, they have subscribed. This, as we have often insisted, is a point to be decided by our own consciences and the properly constituted authorities. It has no bearing on the merits of the discussion. Neither do we think that it occasions profound anxiety to the religious public generally or to the body of our readers. It may be said, however, in justice to ourselves, that we are unable to discover any statement of the creed which either contradicts or excludes the opinions we have advocated. Some of the questions we have discussed had not arisen when the seminary was founded, and therefore, as might be supposed, the creed is silent concerning them. In such cases, because indeed in all cases, we are required by the creed itself to go back to the Bible and to the best light we can gain respecting the gospel. Should it appear to us that our honest opinions are opposed or excluded by the creed of our seminary only one course would be open to us. We should not cease to hold, and if need be to advocate, our conscientious opinions, but we should cease to be instructors in Andover Theological Seminary. But we have considered the reasons urged, and have not found them conclusive. And we take the liberty of adding that we have become so familiar with the opinion of certain persons concerning our alleged inconsistency that it is quite superfluous on their part to iterate and reiterate that opinion. Under the circumstances we feel warranted in referring our censors to Romans xiv. 4.

Another argument urged against our conclusions, as we predicted, is from the prudential side. It is thought to be unsafe to entertain the

hope that the heathen may have clearer light and corresponding opportunity after death. Others, it is said, will conclude that they may have such opportunity, and the urgency of the gospel will be reduced. We respect this apprehension. It is an objection entitled to consideration. It seems to us, however, to be not the first nor the only, but rather the last, question that should be asked. The first inquiry is concerning the teaching, direct or indirect, of the Bible, and concerning the fundamental principles of Christianity. Wherever we are carried by those reasons we shall be safe. To doubt it is to dishonor the gospel. To put safety before truth is of the spirit of unbelief. If any conclusion seems legitimate and necessary, we should not be afraid of it. It could be shown that every considerable advance in religious opinion has awakened grave apprehensions lest the motives to faith should be weakened. Besides, as we stated in the discussion of Eschatology, many have been repelled from the gospel because it has been too narrowly interpreted. There is danger on that side also. The ultimate and decisive motive to repentance is the conception of God, and it is more important to have true and worthy thoughts of God than to be governed by such force as there may be in prudential reasons. We have noticed on the part of every opponent that he has had no fear that the new view, if he should adopt it, would do him harm, but only that it would be dangerous for some other persons. Our judgment is that the question cannot be argued on prudential grounds, but only on grounds of Scripture and our best understanding of Christianity.

A very few criticisms have been serious attempts to discuss Biblical teaching and the conditions of salvation. Concerning the necessity of faith in Christ we have commented at some length in the present article, and need not reply further to the objection that some are saved without knowledge of Christ.

The criticism that our view is extra-scriptural is not well taken. In admitting that there are few specific passages which relate to the subject, we did not intend to imply that Scripture does not strongly support our position, but only that few passages are found which make explicit statements. But is any teaching of the Bible more unmistakable than that all the world to its every individual is to be judged by Christ, and that Christ was offered for the sins of the whole world? The Scriptures plainly teach the universality of Christ's work in its intent, its application, and its consummation. The burden of proof, even on the Scriptural side, rests upon those who aver that any portion of the race is excluded from the privileges of the gospel. It is not incumbent on us to quote Scripture which shall show that the heathen *do* have the gospel before they are judged. It is incumbent on those who oppose our view to quote Scripture which shall show that the heathen *do not* have the gospel before they are judged.

But we did not admit that the Bible is silent on this subject. There are passages which easily, if not necessarily, teach that the heathen have

the gospel after death. The weight of scholarship decidedly preponderates to the interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19, as meaning that Christ preached to the dead in Hades. Even more significant is 1 Peter iv. 5, 6, "Who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead. For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." Here it is taught that in order to make the judgment universal, the gospel was preached to the dead as well as to the living. There is the identical connection of thought which we have indicated. Judgment by Christ is preceded by the preaching of the gospel to the living and the dead. The passage is unequivocal. It can no longer be maintained that the dead referred to are the spiritually dead, or that any others are meant than all the dead of former generations. And the very object of preaching the gospel to them is that they might be judged in the way according to which all men are judged in respect to the life in the flesh, but might yet in the way characteristic of God have opportunity to live in the spirit. We preferred, however, in our discussion to stand upon a well-known principle of Scriptural teaching than to rest the weight of our conclusion on two or three texts. The passages which do refer to the subject are decidedly more favorable to the view we have advocated than to the view that the heathen die without hope.

For the most part, then, our critics have been content to debate incidental considerations, and have failed to grapple with the real issue. We have not called for the discussion of our articles. It is not obligatory on any one to give them any attention. But when attack is made or criticism offered we have a right to expect that the discussion shall be held on the open field of the truth and principles of Christianity; that the reasoning we have presented shall be candidly considered and met by appropriate arguments. Many others, besides ourselves, are waiting to know if any sufficient refutation can be offered as against the opinion we have explained and defended.

#### A PREACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

ARCHDEACON — or, as we prefer, to designate him by the title of the pulpit, Canon — Farrar has appeared before American audiences in three quite distinct but not dissimilar characters: as an interpreter of the more serious poets, as an advocate of temperance, and as a preacher. In whatever capacity he has addressed the public he has made the profound impression of intellectual seriousness. No other man has of late come amongst us who has so refreshed and strengthened the moral sense, or spoken so naturally and effectively in the interest of righteousness.

The moral impression which Canon Farrar has produced is due, we think, to the character and quality of his mind. The earnestness of the man is in his thinking, not simply in his action, or in his imagination, or in his emotions. Many men have accustomed themselves to speak to the

conscience. He evidently *thinks* to the conscience. The listener is at once impressed with the naturalness of the moral element in his speech. There is no assumption of authority, no use of the mere solemnities of religion, no merely vivid and intense presentation of truth. Canon Farrar is not, in the conventional sense, the orator, but he is in a most true and real sense the preacher. Reading or speaking, he communicates his thought under the full power of the motive which prompted to its utterance. His style may seem at times redundant; it is always cumulative; but the motive pursues the thought into the last expression of it, and never allows the language to degenerate into rhetoric. The personality of the speaker informs even the frequent illustrative quotation and historical allusion.

We have referred to the fact that the different characters in which Canon Farrar has appeared are not at all dissimilar. As the interpreter of Dante he is by his treatment of the subject, no less than by his choice of it, essentially the preacher. Probably the majority in his audiences have not for a score of years listened to a more searching sermon than that which they heard in his lecture on Dante. The moral lesson was present at every salient point in the description and argument, and came out into full prominence at the close.

"Dante's vision has in it a moral lesson worthy to be pondered long, for it is a faithful allegory of a spiritual torment certain to be visited on all who forsake God's law. The moral hell and moral heaven consist not only in places of torment and beatitude, but in tempers; not only in flames or golden cities, but in phases of the soul. The object is to hold up before men the purity of God's moral government, to arouse them to a sense of the mystery of their state, to point them to the beauty of the Christian temper, to teach them the fullness of the grace of God, to bring the human soul to the conception of the possibility of rising step by step into a joy not unimaginable by man and yet of a higher order than the ideal of earth. His subject is not so much the state of souls after death, about which Dante knew just as much and just as little as you or I, because he knew just as much and just as little as has been revealed to us by God. He does not mean to describe a hell in which all mankind has ceased to believe as a reality, but behind this he means to give the full verity of a moral hell. . . . Is vice in this nineteenth century dead, that you can afford to despise the lessons which would set it before you in its true nature? Is any of that pitch on our hands? Are any of our tongues tipped with that envenomed flame? Are none of us tempted, like those wretches in the vestibule of hell, to stand leisurely neutral in the great conflict between good and evil? If any of us have followed the example of those whom Dante saw in that place, then Dante has the same strong and significant lessons for this century that he had for the days in which he lived."

These are strong and true words. They have reality, but they lack the vehemence, the heat, the passion of speech to be found in the actual



sermon. Perhaps the most characteristic sermon preached in this country was that preached at Trinity Church, New York, Sunday, October 25th. The text was the closing exhortation of the 1st Epistle of John, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." There are three forms of idolatry: the worship of other gods, the worship of the true God under false and idolatrous symbols, and the worship of the true God under the guise of false notions and false conditions. We have, that is, the idol of the market-place, the idol of the cave, the idol of the school. As John gives us the exhortation that we keep ourselves from idols, he helps us to obey the exhortation by telling us what God is, — "God is righteous," "God is light," "God is love," — and by pointing us to his likeness in Christ. The language of the sermon is throughout that of direct address, and glows in the heat of moral power.

"And when you talk of nothing, think of nothing, scheme after nothing, care for nothing — I had almost said prayed for nothing — but money, money, money, all the day long; hasting to be rich, and so not being innocent; ready if not downright to forge or to steal in order to get it, yet ready to adulterate goods, to scant work, to have false balances and unjust weights, to defraud others of their rights and claims, to put your whole trade, or commerce, or profession on a footing which, perhaps conventionally honest, yet goes to the very verge of dishonesty; toiling for money, valuing it first among earthly goods, looking up to those who have won it as though they were little human gods, hoarding it, dwelling on it, measuring the whole success in life by it, marrying your sons and daughters with main reference to it, — is God the God of your worship? Of your lips, yes; of your life, no. What are you, then, but an idolater, a worshiper of Mammon? . . . If you do not worship this public idol of the market-place, have you no personal idol of the cave? You fully admit, you definitely believe, that in general God punishes sin; that He does not clear the guilty in their guilt; that He did give the moral law; but turning God into your private idol, do not some of you imagine that nevertheless you will get off? that there is something special in your case? that God will make an exception for you? that your temptations have been so strong, your chances so small, your passions so irresistible, your circumstances altogether so peculiar, that somehow you may sin and escape? Aye, and continue in sin; aye, and live in sin; aye, and die in sin, and yet somehow escape the consequences of sin? If so, my brethren, that is not God whom you are worshipping; it is an idol of the cavern. God is a God of laws, not of exceptions; God is a God of justice, not of favoritism. Whatever charge of folly may justly attach to the saying, 'There is no God,' that folly is prouder, deeper, and less pardonable which says that God will deal differently with me than with others. Because you are you, because you fancy your temptations have been exceptions, which is not true; because you think that your passions have been strong, which means only that your reason has been weak; because you think you have so many virtues and amiable qualities; because you love and value yourself and your sins so much that you think God must look partially upon them, too; shall God, because of this self-love, because of these filthy rags of your own righteousness, break in your case, and yours alone, the adamant rock that links punishment to unrepented crime? So might your idol of the cavern do; so will not God. . . . And yet, my brethren, if we fling to

the moles and bats these idols of the market-place and of the cavern, let not our God, our Father in heaven, the God, the Lord God, merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, let Him not become to us as He has become to many, as He has become to the Pharisees of this as of all ages, a mere idol of the school. . . . Idols which represent Him as a God of arbitrary caprice, treating men as though they were mere dead clay, to be dashed about and shattered at his will ; idols which would represent his justice as alien from ours, and those things as good in Him which would be evil in us, — are shattered on the rock of truth that God is righteous. Idols which represent Him as delighting in narrow formalism, self-satisfied security, and bitter exclusiveness, making of dull and acrid dogmatists the sole elect, and rejecting the brighter, bolder, larger natures, as though He loved the jagged thistles and the dwarfed bush better than the rose of Sharon and the cedars of Lebanon, idols of the sectarian, idols of the fanatic, idols of the Pharisee, idols of those whose ignorance would label themselves as the only Christians and the only gospellers, are shattered by the ringing hammer-stroke of the truth that God is light. Idols which represent Him as only living a life turned toward self, or folded within self, caring only for his own glory ; caring nothing for the endless agonies of the creatures He has made ; burning with implacable wrath against little deviations of opinions ; regarding even the sins of children as deserving of infinite punishment, because though they are finite He is infinite ; idols of the zealot, idols of the ecclesiastic, idols of those who think that their puny wrath can work the righteousness of God, are dashed to pieces by the sweeping and illimitable force of the truth that God is love. . . . My brethren, if you would know God, the only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him. If you rely on religious teachers, they may offer you a dead Christ for a living Christ ; an agonized Christ for the ascended Christ ; an ecclesiastical Christ for the spiritual Christ ; a Christ for the elect few for a Christ for the sinful many ; a petty, formalizing, sectarian Christ for the royal Lord of the great free heart of manhood ; a Christ of the fold for a Christ of the one great flock ; a Christ of Gerizim or of Jerusalem, of Rome or of Geneva, of Oxford or of Clapham, for the Christ of the universal world. No ! turn from these shadows ; face the sun. Look at Christ himself."

It is not necessary to multiply extracts from the sermons of Canon Farrar, or to follow him in his more general utterances, to show that he is preëminently a "preacher of righteousness." And the impression made from the pulpit is sustained and confirmed by his attitude toward moral reforms. His position in respect to temperance is unequivocal, consistent, and therefore influential.

What, now, is the essential characteristic of the moral power which impresses us so strongly in the person and words of Canon Farrar ? We have already declared it to be, in our opinion, his intellectual seriousness. And we have called attention to it because we believe it to be a rare quality of moral power. Moral power expresses itself in most men in a certain intensity of faith, or in a certain earnestness in activity. Here is a man who has trained himself to think seriously upon the problems of life. He has not evaded his mental responsibilities in the presence of the perplexities of the moral world. He has not allowed his sympathies to be detached from

his mind and to act independently. He has not allowed his mind to detach itself from his sympathies and to act independently. He has not separated himself in his thinking from the life of men. He has listened to the questions of living men, to the cry of troubled hearts, and has tried to give, in his measure and according to his light, the answer of faith. An incident which happened at the reception given him by the clergy of New York illustrates so well the temper of his mind that we give the account of one who was present and took note of the incident: "In the address of welcome a delicate but plain intimation was given that the reception was not to be taken as an indorsement of opinions, and in the careful and skillful enumeration of Canon Farrar's writings there was the marked omission of the 'Eternal Hope.' In his reply Canon Farrar noted the omission, and, calling attention to it, said: 'I failed to hear mention of one slight production of mine which I had supposed had attracted large notice. I refer to my volume of sermons, entitled "Eternal Hope." But as I feel sure that this book must be present to your minds as well as mine, I beg leave to explain its origin. I specially wish that you should know how it came to be written. It was forced from me by the needs of my hearers, who were many of them in a distressed and anxious state of mind on this subject in view of current and what were supposed to be orthodox views.' Then, referring to the fact that these were popular sermons, he asked to be judged according to the more careful statement of his views in 'Mercy and Judgment.'"

We have noticed that several writers in the religious papers, while speaking with great enthusiasm of Canon Farrar, have thought it necessary to apologize for him in the opinions and hopes expressed in these books. Without entering upon the questions which were discussed in them, it seems to us that these writers, in taking this apologetic tone, show that they have missed altogether the secret of this man's power. He has not accustomed himself to skip the hard places in the problems of life and destiny. His thinking is too serious, too real, shall we say too human, for that. Whoever trains himself to really *think* at all upon religious subjects must think all round. Otherwise his thinking will lose its reality. He cannot do violence to his mental disposition and purpose when "occasion serves." In other words, if Canon Farrar is to think straight out toward judgment, and become a "preacher of righteousness," he must be allowed to think with equal sincerity and fearlessness toward mercy. When a man appears amongst us of greater moral power, without his habit of mind, it will be time to apologize for Canon Farrar. Meanwhile we will take to ourselves, and commend to others, as the lesson taught us by this "preacher of righteousness," the necessity to the pulpit of greater intellectual seriousness. It is not difficult to be earnest, it is not altogether difficult to believe: it is difficult to accept one's mental responsibilities, to train the *mind* to face the great realities, to learn to think of one's self and of man in the full light of sin and of redemption.

## THE ANDOVER REVIEW FOR 1886.

WE are happy to call the attention of our readers to the announcement upon our business pages, from which it will be seen that the "Review" has been placed upon an assured financial basis, that with the next issue it will be permanently enlarged to 112 pages in each number, making an aggregate of 1344 pages for the year, and that the price of subscription will be advanced to \$4.00. Such an advance in price has been made as is thought to fairly represent the difference between the amount of matter furnished by a monthly of the size of the "Andover Review" under its proposed enlargement and that furnished by the ordinary bi-monthly or quarterly Reviews. That the advance may not be made without notice to our subscribers, *subscriptions will be received from old subscribers and new, until January 1, 1886, at the present rate, \$3.00.*

When the "Andover Review" was put forth two years since to advocate the theological principles and methods with which it has become identified, it was impossible to forecast its reception by the religious public, much less to calculate upon its probable constituency. Very little attempt was made to determine the probabilities of its success. The "Review" had its origin in what seemed, to those who inaugurated it, to be a religious and theological necessity; it sprang out of the convictions, not only of those who were immediately concerned in its editorial management, but also of those who gave to the enterprise the support of their names, and of those who generously contributed to its establishment. It was assumed that these convictions must be to a certain degree representative, that they could not be local, or confined within the limits of a given denomination. The assumption has been more than justified by results. From the outset more than one half of the circulation of the "Review" has been outside New England, and no inconsiderable part of it outside the Congregational denomination.

The "Review" does not claim to have created its present constituency. Whatever may have been its influence in developing and crystallizing theological thought, it has sought to recognize the fact of a deep and wide-spread movement in theology toward the end which it has had in view. During the past year the attempt has been made to illustrate and apply a great principle of Christian theology, namely, the absoluteness and universality of Christianity; but the endeavor has not been made, and will not be made, to set up an arbitrary theological standard. The "Review" is committed to the advocacy of principles and of methods rather than of dogmas, and in the future, as in the past, it will insist upon the absolute and unimpeachable right of those who advocate the principles and methods of a progressive orthodoxy to their place within the acknowledged limits of orthodoxy.

As may be seen, however, by reference to the table of contents of past numbers, published in connection with the announcement, the "Review"

is by no means confined to the field of theological discussion. Special attention has been given to the treatment of questions in sociology. During the coming year the relation of Christianity to the various social problems will be discussed editorially and through contributed articles, and a department of Sociological Notes will be added under the charge of the Rev. S. W. Dike.

A Geographical and Missionary department will also be added, under the care of the Rev. C. C. Starbuck.

The series of articles upon Church Architecture, from Professor Churchill, unavoidably postponed from the present year, will be begun in an early number of the coming year.

Subjects in Education are so closely related to those of a religious and theological nature that these will be given a fit place upon the pages of the "Review." Notably the discussion of "The New Education," introduced by Professor Palmer in the November number, will be continued by eminent educators.

Topics in General Literature will be considered in their moral aspects, and under the enlargement of our pages increased attention will be given to the notice of books which fall within the scope of the "Review."

The Editorial and other departments will remain as heretofore.

We have not considered it necessary to publish in advance a list of contributors for the year 1886. We trust that the quality of the articles already contributed may be accepted as a sufficient guarantee for the quality of those which are to appear.

It would be altogether invidious if, in this editorial reference to the past and future of the "Review," no acknowledgment should be made of the most generous and hearty support given from the first by the publishers, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. It is to them that we, in common with our readers, are indebted for the general appearance of the "Review," for the clearness and correctness of its typographical work, and for the promptness of its issue on the date of monthly publication.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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**THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH KNOWN AS THE UNITAS FRATRUM, or The Unity of the Brethren, founded by the followers of John Hus, the Bohemian Reformer and Martyr.** By EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ, S. T. D., Bishop of the Unitas Fratrurn. 8vo, pp. xxv., 693. Bethlehem, Pa: Moravian Publication Office. 1885. \$2.50.

THIS is more than a denominational history. It is a contribution, not less valuable because indirect, to the discussion of some of the most vital and fundamental questions in the theology of the day. And it is this that makes the work of fully as much interest and importance to the general student as to the members of the church whose origin, character, and early development it elucidates in so thorough, conscientious, and schol-



arly a manner. We can here do no more than point out some of the highly significant facts and features which seem to promise richest results to the student of Christian thought and life who shall follow them up by further study and research.

In the very first chapters (i. - iii.) it is not only made clear that the Bohemian Reformation of Hus and his followers was a spontaneous and necessary outgrowth of the Czech character under the peculiar religious, social, and political influences at work within the nation, — with which such external events as, among the rest, the writings of Wyclif had only an incidental and in no sense a causal relation, — but the account of the origin of some of these influences themselves suggests further inquiries of an exceedingly interesting nature at the present time. Theology is turning its attention to the teachings and spirit of the early Greek Church, and finds there much of pristine truth, for the lack of which it long has been hungering and thirsting, and of which it has so long been deprived simply because unconsciously it has been accustomed to look to the Latin Church and her descendants as the sole conservers of all truth. The theology of the Greek Fathers is beginning to be deemed worthy of at least the same earnest study as has been given to that of the Latins. And the question is being asked, If the spirit and teachings of the former had not been crowded out as they were by the latter, what would have been the consequences? Would the church have become as corrupt as it did under the Roman domination? Or, if the German Reformers had not been so easily content with Augustine, but had consulted and heeded also Clement and Athanasius, would the Reformation itself so soon have needed reforming, and its theology renewing? It has already been pretty clearly ascertained that nearly all the imperfections of Protestant theology are relics of the Latin teaching, while the improvements needed are in great part capable of being supplied from the Greek.

Viewed with reference to such considerations the history of the *Unitas Fratrum* at once assumes an aspect of fresh interest and far-reaching importance. For here we have a body of Christians, unique in the simplicity of their faith and purity of their life, who are the direct descendants of a people that was converted to Christ, about the middle of the ninth century, through the preaching of two Greek priests, Cyrill and his brother Methodius, both of whom had been brought up in the seclusion of a monastery free from the corruption into which their church was then already falling. "They trained young Czechs as native priests," says Bishop Schweinitz. "They finished that Slavonian version of the Bible which Cyrill had previously begun, and for which he had invented an alphabet known as the *Cyrillitza*. They rendered the liturgy into the same tongue, and introduced it into every parish. They caused the reading of the Scriptures, public worship, and preaching to be conducted in the vernacular. They built up a national church, in which the Czechs felt at home. . . . Both in its character and results their work resembled the missionary activity of the primitive Christians, and stood out in bright contrast to the system which Rome introduced wherever she gained a foothold" (pp. 9, 10). They fashioned a religious character from the raw material, moulded it while soft and pliable with the ardor of its first love, until it became unalterably fixed, an integral part of the stubborn Czech national character, which not even Rome could change. The principles and spirit of the early Greek theology were never after eradicated from the religious consciousness of the Bohemians and Mora-



vians. Centuries of persecution could do no more than temporarily smother them. With every opportunity they sprang forth again into life and activity. Conrad of Waldhausen, Milic of Kremsier, Matthias of Janow, and finally John Hus of Husinec himself, were only the vents through whom this uncontrollable spirit burst into expression. As formulated in the writings of Hus, of Peter Chelcicky, and the *Unitas Fratrum* after its organization in 1457, it shows, indeed, many marks of the Latin influence, but also not a few of the unconscious influence of the spirit and principles of the Greek Fathers which had become so deeply inwrought in the religious thought and life of the nation.

Now it is remarkable that just in these inherited Greek characteristics, if we may so call them, are to be found those elements of doctrinal strength and purity, and of vigorous life and activity, which at frequent periods in history distinguished the *Unitas Fratrum* from all the rest of evangelical Christendom, and to-day are still among its most distinctive features. We can here only barely indicate a few of these, referring the reader to the "History" itself for a fuller exposition of them, though the author nowhere explicitly refers them to the same cause as we do.

1. *Their position with regard to the Holy Scriptures.* The two Greek "Apostles of the Slavonians" came to Bohemia and Moravia with the open Bible, in the vernacular, in their hands. They preached from it, appealed to it, and made it the sole source and authority of all their teaching. Thus was generated in the popular mind a deep reverence for the pure Word, and that intense national love of liberty encouraged as an inalienable right in spiritual matters as in temporal. It was Hus's claim and exercise of this right, over against the assumed authority of the Church, its councils, popes, and priests, and the whole perverted system of Augustinian ecclesiasticism, that brought him to the martyr's stake. It is true, Luther afterwards exercised this same liberty. It is the foundation of his Protestantism. But how imperfectly he had freed himself from the intricate meshes of the mighty system, or perhaps rather from the insidious influence of its spirit, and how different was the foundation of the Bohemian Reformers, is shown by the intolerance early manifested by the German and his followers, often breaking out into violence and persecution. Besides the examples well known to all, a single instance out of our history will suffice. True to its principles the *Unitas Fratrum* held from the beginning, and still holds, with regard to the Lord's Supper, that no human explanation or interpretation of it dare be made binding on any one; but that the simple words of Scripture on the subject are to be accepted in childlike faith.<sup>1</sup> Luther, on the contrary, accepting substantially the Roman doctrine on the subject, insisted on it as the only correct one which every one must accept as he did. Hence his cruel rupture with Zwingli. So because the Brethren would not accept his view, nor any other, as binding on them, he made it one of the grounds of breaking off, for a time (1524-1532), all fraternal relations with them. Repeatedly since then the same intolerant spirit has been shown to be still powerful in Protestantism. Not

<sup>1</sup> This was first formulated at a synod held in 1459, thus: "All who receive the sacrament in truth, through faith, believe and confess that it is the true body and blood of Christ, according to his word and mind, without adding anything, or taking away anything, and rejecting all human explanations." (Quoted pp. 111, 112. Cf. also p. 112, note 19.)

on one subject only, but on nearly all subjects, its theology has dogmatized, it has drawn up creeds, and standards, and symbols, and made them the rule of faith. Long ago, as Dr. Gerhart so clearly showed in a recent article,<sup>1</sup> "The doctrinal standards ascended the ecclesiastical throne, and became the guides and criteria for the legitimate study and sound interpretation of Scripture. The superior authority of the Confessions appears in the German motto: 'Nach dieser Regel suchet in der Schrift.'" In the *Unitas Fratrum* this never was done. The Bible still is, in deed and in truth, its only rule of faith; and has been since those early days in 1468 when the Brethren wrote: "For more than eight years we have set aside all (theological) writings and tracts, and avoid them," and declared that they "should be satisfied with God's Word, and simply believe what it taught."

2. *Their views on the divine nature.* In how far these were influenced by a possible inheritance of the early Greek spirit is not so clear, perhaps, as is the fact that they certainly did not receive them from the Latin church. Unlike Greek or Latin, they never allowed themselves to be tempted to formulate any authoritative explanations of the mystery of the Trinity, the being, nature, and relation of the divine Persons. As with the Lord's Supper, they held to the simple words of Scripture as alone authoritative and binding. But from the beginning, in all their conceptions of God the emphasis is uniformly laid on the divine love; while the Reformed theology held to the Latin notion of sovereignty as the chief characteristic of God. This difference between the Brethren and the Reformers was always marked and decided. And it early led the former to a view of Christ and his salvation, some of the essential and most precious elements of which were certainly more easily deducible from the early Greek than from the Latin theology, and of which the Reformers, clinging to the latter, had scarcely any intimation. For, "Whilst the Reformers," again to quote from Dr. Gerhart's article, "directed faith to the promise of salvation, or the free grace of God, and Rome turned the eye of faith upon herself or her divine authority, neither definitely and consistently affirmed the divine-human Christ to be the true, only, final object."<sup>2</sup> The *Unitas Fratrum*, on the contrary, always did make the Person of Christ "the true, only, final object" of saving faith. He has to it always been the centre and circumference of all truth. As it was their clear sense of love as the essence of God that even in comparatively recent times caused ridicule and opprobrium to be heaped upon the "Herrnhüter" by the Protestants on the Continent, where these had sunk into the coldest, most mechanical deism, so it was their consistent magnifying of Christ and Him crucified as the object of their faith and ground of their hope that caused them to be derided and maligned as mystics, fanatics, and pietists by the dead orthodoxy of Europe that no longer even named the name of Christ. It was from them, finally, that he, the great Schleiermacher, received that impulse, which through him was communicated to the earnest minds of his time, and to-day more strongly than ever is urging all living Christian thought in that direction whose goal and end are Jesus Christ, the living, loving, personal Saviour of all who will believe.<sup>3</sup>

3. *Their doctrine of the church.* Space does not permit us to trace the development of their teaching on this subject from the times of Hus

<sup>1</sup> *The Andover Review*, March, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, pp. 381 and 399.

to 1503, when they formally declared that "The Holy Catholic Church is the entire body of the elect (numerus omnium electorum), from the beginning to the end of the world, whom God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, elects, justifies, and calls to the glory of salvation, out of which body there is no salvation. In its visible form, however, the Church is a mixed body, and comprises wicked men also. The Brethren do not claim to be the only true Church, but strive to be members of the only true Church."<sup>1</sup> This is substantially what they still hold, and the same as that theoretically maintained by the Reformation churches. That it was held differently among the former, however, than among the latter, the history of the two seems to make clear. Among the Brethren it was a deep-seated conviction involved in their spiritual constitution, as it were, to which they never could or would be untrue. Had they held it only as a kind of polemical theory, they would probably also have been tempted, in the course of time, to unchurch some of their sister denominations, deny the validity of their orders, and refuse to fraternize with them. Instead of this, the author of our "History," himself a member of the unbroken succession of their bishops, after having demonstrated (chap. xvi.) the apostolic origin and validity of the Moravian episcopacy to be as indisputable as that of any other claimant, simply declares: "The claim of the Unitas Fratrum to a valid episcopacy is important as a historic and not as an essential question. It is not based upon the idea that episcopal ordination is alone legitimate. The Church still occupies the catholic standpoint of the fathers, upholding fellowship with evangelical Christians of every name; the prayer which was fervently uttered four and a quarter centuries ago, amidst the mountains of Reichenau and in the hamlet of Lhota, is still repeated: 'Unite all the children of God in one spirit'" (p. 152).

It was, moreover, this same spirit that induced the Brethren, as early as 1522, to make the most strenuous efforts to effect an organic union with the church of Luther; in which, however, they were not successful. With the same deep conviction of the unity of all believers, and sorrow at the ever-increasing divisions among them, they afterwards devised a plan, and labored for its fulfillment, by which a confederate alliance of all evangelical churches in Poland should be consummated. The *Consensus* which they succeeded in having adopted by the Lutherans, Reformed, and Brethren, at a joint synod at Sandomir in 1570, was a prophecy and anticipation of the essential principles of the Evangelical Alliance of our own times. This Sandomirian Alliance, as our author says, "showed, especially by its *Consignatio* adopted at Posen, in what way Protestants may retain their several creeds and peculiarities, and yet be practically united. It was far more than the Evangelical Alliance of our day. It constituted, we venture to hope, a presage of what is yet to come" (p. 358). That after a few years it came to nothing was not the Brethren's fault. Neither, it may yet be added, was it their fault that a similar attempt made by them in this country, nearly two centuries after, likewise met with failure. Both attempts showed, however, in what a real sense the Unitas held its doctrine of the church.

4. In conclusion we will but call attention to one more characteristic which has always distinguished this church: *the eminently practical tendency of all its faith and teaching*. Its great forerunner Hus already clearly and forcibly struck the key-note of it, and its difference

<sup>1</sup> Quoted p. 203.

from some later phases of the Reformation theology. He said that faith "is a state of mind in which eternal life begins in us. . . . It is the foundation of the other virtues with which the Church of Christ is in fellowship. Such faith alone justifies."<sup>1</sup> The historian Krummel declares: "The mode in which Hus represents the theory of justification is, however, very different from that of the later Reformers. He does not conceive justification to be a merely objective occurrence, a judicial act of God, but, being connected with faith, he looks upon it also as a subjective occurrence in man."<sup>2</sup> So afterwards Chelicky, who more than any one else shaped the early doctrine of the Unitas, "looked upon Christianity rather as a life than a creed, and his entire system shows that the dogmatic was made subordinate to the practical. To imitate the example of Christ—so he teaches—is the most exalted rule of life; to love God above all and one's neighbor as one's self the supreme law" (p. 97).

This practical tendency in their doctrine had a paramount influence on the cultus of the Brethren. They instituted a rigorous system of discipline, wherewith to order their congregational and individual conduct and life. They were from the beginning and long remained preëminent among Christians for the purity, integrity, and simplicity of their walk and conversation, and the unbending firmness with which they ever insisted thereon. Their example in these respects drew forth the wonder and admiration of all. Thus Bucer wrote to them: "You alone in all the world combine a wholesome discipline with a pure faith. . . . When we compare our church with yours, we must be ashamed."<sup>3</sup> So Calvin, about the same time, said: "It is a thing not lightly to be esteemed that they have shepherds who know how to guide and direct them, and that they maintain such good morals, order, and discipline. . . . We have long since recognized the value of such a system, but cannot in any way attain to it."<sup>4</sup> Luther himself bore similar testimony on more than one occasion. At another time, however, this very excellence of theirs seemed an offense to him, and caused him to speak of them as "sour-faced hypocrites;" while it was made the chief cause of the final failure of their overtures with him for a union of the Bohemian and the German evangelical churches. Yet the records show that he deeply regretted not having introduced a similar discipline into the German churches, recognizing that the want of it was working deplorable havoc with the morals of the people, and bringing Protestantism into reproach before all the world. This became even worse after his death.<sup>5</sup> Among the Brethren this practical tendency remained a chief source of strength, an honorable distinction, long after they had come to adopt the whole letter

<sup>1</sup> Quoted p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte*, pp. 389, 390, quoted p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Bishop Schweinitz cites an interesting witness in Salig, the Lutheran historian of the Augsburg Confession, who says: "Neither a Scriptural discipline, than which nothing can be more important, nor the real object of the whole Reformation was attained. Both died with Luther's death. For the Smalcald War began, and the theologians cared little for a godly discipline and life, but fell into the most violent quarrels. In the universities were taught words, distinctions, and formulas, and such things were made to constitute the kernel of pure Lutheranism. . . . In order that the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren—which, as could not be denied, Luther had praised—might not be accepted, and other Christians thus by them be put to shame, suspicion was cast upon their doctrine, and some of them were accused of fanaticism" (p. 260).

of Protestant theology with all its excellences and its faults; and it became the mighty spring of their whole marvelous missionary activity upon which they entered immediately after the Renewal of the Unitas in 1727, and which to-day yet constitutes their greatest field of usefulness and brightest crown of glory.

*J. Max Hark.*

LANCASTER, PA.

THREE PAGES OF THE BRYENNIOUS MANUSCRIPT, etc., reproduced by photography for the Johns Hopkins University. Edited, with notes, by J. RENDEL HARRIS, Associate Professor of New Testament Greek and Palæography. Small 4to; three photographic plates and nine pages of letter-press. Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University. 1885.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. *Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*. A translation with notes; and excursus (i. to ix.) illustrative of the "Teaching;" and the Greek text. By CANON SPENCE, M. A., Vicar of St. Pancras. Small octavo, pp. vi., 183. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, etc. Edited, with a translation, introduction, and notes, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A new edition, revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo, pp. cxv., 85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THE OLDEST CHURCH MANUAL, called THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. *Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*. The Didache and kindred Documents, in the original, with translations and discussions of post-apostolic teaching, baptism, worship, and discipline, and with illustrations and facsimiles of the Jerusalem MS. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. viii., 301. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1885.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ 12 ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. LA DIDACHE, OU L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES DOUZE APÔTRES, texte Grec — publié pour la première fois en France, avec un commentaire et des notes. Par PAUL SABATIER, ancien élève de la Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris. 8vo, pp. 167. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1885.

THE five titles given above represent (with the exception, if we mistake not, of Volkmar's characteristic treatise alone) the latest work on the "Teaching of the Apostles," and prove that valuable work may still be expected even on so much studied a treatise. The literature of the book is, indeed, already immense. Dr. Schaff devotes in Drs. Hitchcock and Brown's book twelve pages of fine type to what he calls a "digest of the Didache literature," which are increased in his own book to fourteen pages. Nor are these mere repetitions of each other. The former gives a fuller list of the minor publications, and the latter a fuller account of the contents of the more important ones. The two thus happily supplement each other, and thereby symbolize the general relations of the two books; and the two together, it may be added, practically cover the whole ground, although a few titles have been missed. Neither book has been published therefore in ignorance of the extent of what had already been given to the public, and neither has been published without adding something of value. To the critical scholar who has kept himself informed of what was doing with reference to the Didache, equally welcome with these two publications are Dr. Harris's photographs, which, taken with Bryennios's notes, supply the palæographer with all that he needs to know of the MS. in which the Teaching was found; and M. Sabatier's book, which, without exception, is the most readable treatise that the Didache



has called out, — entirely French as it is in its purity of style, brilliancy of presentation, and unity of aim.

The treatises before us, taken together, illustrate very clearly the position that discussion has brought us to with reference to the origin, date, and character of the *Didache*. It is worth noting that all of these latest laborers agree in their solution of the central problem, — the relation of the treatise to Barnabas. Without exception, they look upon Barnabas as the borrower, and some of them even express surprise that any one could have ever imagined the contrary. In this the present writer cannot help believing that they have rightly judged; and with all respect for those scholars who prefer to consider Barnabas the originator of the matter which the *Didachographer* subsequently reduced to order, it seems to him, too, that the argument has gone not only decidedly but decisively the other way, and it may now be accepted as a critical result that the *Didache* is older than Barnabas. If so, it belongs in date to the verge of the first century at the latest, and this our present treatises unanimously recognize. Stragglers have to be beaten in indeed, not from the side that would set the composition of the work too late, but rather from the side that would set it too early. Dr. Schaff and Drs. Hitchcock and Brown with just sobriety assign it to the years about 100 A. D. Canon Spence thinks the last quarter of the first century more likely, and looks upon the book as one which John may have read. M. Sabatier is not satisfied with even this: about A. D. 50 is the date he prefers (p. 159), — before any of Paul's letters were written, and even before the beginning of his missionary journeys! The antiquity of the treatise is so hoary, indeed, according to him, that it comes to us from a time before there were any church offices (p. 126), — before the Lord's Supper had come to be thought a commemoration of the Lord's death (pp. 104, 108, 113), — before there was any church worship distinct from that of the synagogue (p. 94 *sq.*), — before, in fact, we may add in our own words, distinctive Christianity had been born! The untenableness of this extreme view is already evident in that it necessarily places the origin of the treatise within twenty years of the death of our Lord, and yet presupposes a flourishing church among the Gentiles, needing precise instruction in church order and practices. The theory is, moreover, self-contradictory. Wandering apostles and missionaries are assumed going everywhere among a large and widely scattered body of Gentile believers, — so numerous and so long settled as to require protection against the impostors which their already famous hospitality and generosity called out — before Paul began his missionary journeys. Numerous settled and strong churches among the Gentiles are assumed with all the Christian rites — baptism, the Lord's Supper, Sabbath services, tithing, etc. — before the deacons of Acts vii. have been appointed or the elders of Acts xi. invented, or that theory of the Eucharist been dreamed of, which was well settled in 57. This is no caricature of the situation. M. Sabatier distinctly recognized that our *Didache* is not the effort of an individual to reduce disorder into order; it is the church speaking. "We have here," he says (p. 154), "not the work of a Christian, writing for a restricted number of persons, making a letter or an edifying treatise. We have, in the strictest sense of the word, a work of the church; it is a sort of official manual of liturgy and catechism." But if so, the treatise was not written before the church had the usages here described; and in reading it we are certainly not "assisting" at the birth of ecclesiastical organization. In the face of so radical a difficulty



we need not seriously discuss the arguments that are advanced for so early a date. Canon Spence's view is more plausible, just because less extreme; but even it must, in our present light, give way to the soberer judgment that finds the time when the treatise originated at about the year 100.

The place whence it was sent forth is divergently determined by our authors. Dr. Brown assigns it to Egypt; Dr. Schaff and M. Sabatier to Syria; and Canon Spence to Palestine. The evidence scarcely permits us to choose confidently between Egypt and Syria, and it is not impossible that the final decision will divide the honor between the two, — assigning the original composition of the work to Egypt, and an early though probably gradually formed recension of its text, by which it reached the form in which it lies in the Constantinople MS., to Syria. There are many converging considerations that point to this conclusion: among others, the early use of it in Egypt by Barnabas, and its later crystallization, in practically the same form which he used, into the book of order of the Egyptian churches on the one hand, and, on the other, the Syrian flavor of certain passages which seem to be interpolations into the original text. The discussion of this question in this form involves, however, a thorough-going discussion of the text of the document, and this has not been seriously attempted heretofore by any one except, perhaps, Hilgenfeld. Our present treatises have passed over this important matter almost wholly. Dr. Brown alone devotes a — no doubt unsufficing — chapter to it (§ 2, pp. xiv.-xxiii.). There are really two textual points quite distinct from one another which require settlement before the indications of the treatise as to the place whence it was sent forth can be classified with any confidence. We must know whether the text has suffered interpolation since it was published as a complete whole. And we must know whether the author of this treatise used any previous matter in his work. The first subject belongs under the head of textual transmission, while a discussion of the second should find place in the section devoted to the sources of the treatise. Under the head of "Sources of the Teaching" Dr. Brown does not discuss, however, this subject, although he elsewhere betrays his suspicion that the author may have adopted certain prayers, for instance, which were already in use when he wrote: "The prayers were no doubt found by the author in actual use" (p. lxxvii.). On the other hand, he appears to mention Hilgenfeld's belief, that the author found also chapters i.-vi. ready to his hand, only to reject it (p. xv. sq.). It is obvious, however, that it must be definitely settled whether the author wrote or incorporated these prayers and this catechism before we can use hints in them to determine the place of composition of the treatise. For instance, Mr. Rendel Harris ("American Journal of Philology," vol. i. 104) and others object to Egypt that such a phrase as "as this broken bread was scattered over the mountains" could not naturally have found place in a treatise composed in the lowlands of Egypt. But this occurs (chap. ix.) in one of the prayers; and if the prayers were already in general use, and only adopted by the author of the treatise, whatever strength may be thought to reside in this argument completely fails us in determining the place of writing of the treatise as distinguished from the prayers. A thorough-going discussion of the textual transmission is equally important, and this none of the works now before us pretend to give. Dr. Brown, who alone touches on the matter, justly concludes that the "Jerusalem Codex gives us, on the whole, a true copy of the Teaching."

and then finds evidence of "the existence of various later recensions of the text" (p. xviii.), some of them partial editions, some variant texts. The evidence on which all of these (how many of them has Dr. Brown found?) are declared to be "later" is not stated, but we are told the most interesting of them is found in the Latin version discovered by Dr. V. Gebhardt, of which it is declared, "a different recension of the text, and one which already showed some of the striking peculiarities of Barnabas and the Canons, seems to underlie this version" (p. xxii.). Even a cursory examination of the readings for the short section for which alone the Latin is extant will suffice to convince any student of the truth of this remark. It is not so obvious that the recension represented by the Latin was made out of Barnabas and the Canons, and did not rather underlie them, as Dr. B. goes on to state (cf. also p. xlii. note 1): "The presence of peculiarities marking these works and distinguishing them from each other" may be accounted for as due to common inheritance as easily as and in this case more easily than as due to promiscuous borrowing. Any close examination of the mutual relations of the three documents — the Latin, Barnabas, and the Canons — will result in conclusively showing that the text underlying the Latin did not borrow from Barnabas, but *vice versa*, and that the Canons are less closely related to either than the two are to one another; in a word, in establishing a recension divergent in some important points from that preserved in the Constantinople MS., separated further into two sub-recensions, Barnabas and the Latin on the one side and the Canons on the other. This I have already had the opportunity of stating in Dr. Schaff's book (pp. 220 *sq.*). But this recension, it should be remembered, while, as used by Barnabas, it must be admitted to be the most anciently attested recension, is not on that account necessarily the purest transmission of the text. This fact can be established only by a detailed examination. On its recognition, however, the formation of a text of the Didache becomes something very different from merely copying the Bryennios edition or even the text of the Constantinople MS., which is all that any of our present editors attempt. A close examination soon establishes a considerable interpolation in the latter: i. 3, *εὐλογεῖτε* — ii. 1, which on internal grounds can scarcely have been part of the original text, and which fails in the whole divergent recension. But if this one interpolation has been suffered, others may have also found their way into the text, and a very careful examination is necessary before we can use its details for any purpose of history, dogmatics, or controversy. It is a mere accident that we have spoken of this very important matter in connection with the question of place where the treatise was composed. But it has its bearing on it, too; for instance, the interpolation i. 3 — ii. 1 is apparently based, in its evangelical quotations, on Tatian's "Diatessaron." But this fact will not help to prove that the treatise was written in Syria, but only that it received its present textual form there.

Our authors are agreed again — with the exception of Dr. Brown — that the Teaching was composed by a Jewish Christian. Dr. Schaff ventures to declare this to be certain; and Canon Spence is satisfied that it was sent forth into the world from such a community of Jewish Christians as were gathered together at Pella, and belongs to that Jewish Christian triolette, the Epistle of St. James, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, which represent the broader and more truly Christian element of the Jewish Church, — nay,

he can even conjecture that Symeon, the Lord's kinsman, may have been its writer. M. Sabatier's whole treatise is devoted to the establishment of the one proposition that the *Didache* is the representative of early Jewish Christianity, that its affinities are wholly Jewish, and that it can best be explained out of Jewish remains. He has so far succeeded in this task as to place the essentially Jewish Christian character of the document as a whole beyond dispute, and it is sufficient for our present purpose to set off his treatise against Dr. Brown's somewhat ill-considered statement. Indeed, the passage in which Dr. Brown denies the Jewish character of the treatise shows signs in its very structure of less careful revision than is usual in his valuable treatise. He says (p. lxxxv.): "The author evidently laid hold of Christianity not so much on its dogmatic as on its ethical side, and his book resembles, in this respect, the *Epistle of James*. This is the more remarkable because *there is no evidence that he was himself of Jewish origin*. This would appear to indicate DISTINCTLY a circle of Gentile Christians (individuals or communities) in which the same preponderance was given to the ethical over the dogmatic" (the emphases are ours). The passage from "it cannot be proved that he was a Jew" to "he was distinctly a Gentile" is quite a German leap.

These words of Dr. Brown suggest another important question. What right have we to assume that the writer "laid hold of Christianity not so much on the dogmatic as on the ethical side?" Any modern "Directory of Worship" is apt to contain very little doctrine. We desire to distinctly protest against the assumption that no doctrine was held or considered imperative above what was given expression in such a treatise. Dr. Brown had Zahn's protest before him, that the Teaching was not designed to be a complete description of Christianity and church life, but only a practical assistant to other sources of instruction and edification, and yet can say, "This certainly does not appear in the treatise itself; it makes the impression that the author supposed himself to be giving the substance of that which Christians need concern themselves about" (p. lxxxvi., note). On the contrary, the treatise is conspicuously a book of church order, not of the Christian faith, and has to do emphatically with practice, not belief. Does Dr. Brown really suppose that chaps. i.-vi., which, according to chap. vii., *initium*, were to be taught to the catechumens before baptism, contain all that the author of the treatise thought the catechumens needed to know before entering upon the Christian life, and not rather only the final instruction or solemn declaration to them, as they took this serious step, of the mode of life that they were to live in the gospel? Why, it is commanded that the catechumen be baptized with reference to the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But what is baptism? On this theory, the catechumen has been taught nothing as to that. Is he to appear and be baptized without ever having heard of it? And again, who is the Son? He has not even been once mentioned in the whole catechism, where the name of Jesus does not once occur, and where the fact of his sonship is not even once in the most remote way alluded to. And who is the Holy Ghost? Except in one somewhat obscure clause, he is not alluded to in the faintest way in the whole catechism. Truly, on the theory that this catechism contains all that the author supposed Christians need concern themselves about before receiving baptism, the candidates would be in worse case than those whom Paul found in Ephesus, who had not so much as heard whether there was a Holy Ghost. These would be called upon to receive

a rite that they had never heard mentioned and the significance of which was a riddle to them, and to have names named on them in a threefold enigma which would necessarily be insoluble to them. But, by as much as it is certain that the baptismal formula implies more knowledge than is given in the preceding catechism, and that of a doctrinal kind, by so much is it certain that the preceding catechism excludes doctrine, not because it had not yet been "developed" or was not considered "essential," but because it lay outside of the purpose of the treatise, and by so much is it certain that this catechism does not represent the total training of the candidate, but something like a formal and solemn declaration to him, on the moment of baptism, of the mode of external life which this new and solemn step involved. The calling of this catechistical section by Dr. Schaff, "*The Doctrinal or Catechistical Part*," and the insertion of his chapter on "*The Theology of the Didache*," immediately after his discussion of it, as if it had some very close connection with it (whereas the doctrinal teaching of the treatise is actually found by him mostly in other portions), illustrate the force of the error.

The zeal to find in the Didache a "more primitive form" of Christianity than ever existed is illustrated again in the treatment which M. Sabatier gives of the Eucharist. Comparing in a very interesting and instructive way the prayers here given (chaps. ix. and x.) with certain Jewish prayers, and noting the absence from them of any reference to the death of Christ, he concludes that we have here the Christian Eucharist before it was a commemoration of the death of our Lord, — which it already was, however, when Paul wrote his Corinthian letters (57 A. D.). "In the Didache," he writes, "we have nothing like this; its Christian repast did not have as its special object to recall the death of Jesus. It seems to confirm the hypothesis proposed by M. Renan. This celebrated critic has thought that the Lord's Supper carries us back, not to a single sacramental act performed by Jesus on the eve of his death, but to the habit which He had of breaking bread with his disciples. This rite, after having obtained even during the life of Jesus a great importance, became the great symbol of Christian communion." "It was natural, no doubt," he continues, "that the last occasion when they had enjoyed this communion with their master should be vividly remembered by his followers on its repetition, and so, gradually, the feast that was at first only a symbol of communion should become first associated with and then theologically inseparable from the Lord's death. But in the Didache there is absolutely nothing of all this yet; the participation in the same bread and wine is only a reciprocal bond. And we catch in it the word *Eucharist* just at the moment when it was commencing the evolution which changed its sense. Consequently we have another proof that our treatise belongs to a time before that evolution had taken place which Paul thinks of as primeval, and which the Gospels represent to be such!" Surely, these are grave conclusions, involving much historical result. On what are they founded? A dream of M. Renan's and the assumption of the extreme antiquity of the Didache, — for outside of the Didache there is no support for them. It is no doubt true that the eucharistic prayers of our treatise are astounding — almost inexplicable — when considered as eucharistic prayers. And the position of M. Sabatier is more logical than that of say Dr. Schaff or Canon Spence or Dr. Hitchcock, who can apply these prayers to the Eucharist, properly so called, and yet assign them to an orthodox writer of about 100 A. D. It is simply impossible that

such an eucharistic service could have been held in an orthodox Christian church at that date. The key to the whole matter seems to be the phrase "after being filled," in chapter x., and the concluding verses of that chapter. Dr. Schaff discusses Zahn's remarks upon these words, but rejects his conclusions. But what right has any one to follow the Constitutions in transmuting "after being filled" into "after having partaken," especially when the invitation to the table is apparently given in ix. 6? The truth of the matter seems to be that the Lord's Supper is not to be placed at the end of chap. ix., but at the end of chap. x.; that the prayers here given are not "eucharistic" in our sense of the word, but belong to the sacred feast or *agapé*, after which the Lord's Supper was celebrated. It was, no doubt, not probably the most primitive custom to thus celebrate the Lord's Supper in marked separation from the *agapé*; but, then, this only shows that the Didache does not belong to A. D. 50 but to A. D. 100. After all said, I believe Zahn's arguments remain unanswered, and the view commended by him as yet far the most likely one. M. Sabatier's investigations are, moreover, a strong corroboration of it, inasmuch as they show that these prayers are quite the natural ones for Jewish Christians to use at their feasts, and are very strikingly paralleled by those preserved for us in Jewish literature. That the blessing of the cup precedes here the blessing of the bread follows Jewish analogies; but in the Lord's Supper the other order was followed, even according to the Didache (ix. 5). The lack of formal communication of what was said at the supper itself is characteristic of the fragmentary character of the treatise and parallel to the omission of the doctrinal teaching before baptism.

There is much else in the works before us that calls for discussion, or at least mention. It is already time, however, to close this notice. In closing, we should like to reiterate that all five of the treatises are worth the attention of the scholar. Mr. Harris gives us important palæographical material. M. Sabatier discusses the teaching of the treatise from the standpoint of the Jewish analogies with a richness of illustration that leaves little to be desired, and with a freshness and spirit that carry the reader with him, even at times against his better judgment. Canon Spence's is the most popular treatise of the number, and presents much fresh matter in a very pleasant form. Dr. Schaff's and Drs. Hitchcock and Brown's works are mutually supplementary, the latter being an edition with critical prolegomena, and the former a discussion from the point of view of the historian, with supporting documents adjoined. America may well be satisfied with her part. No edition in English can stand comparison in value with either of these. Between them choice is difficult because of their very unlikeness. Dr. Brown made a mistake in not giving place to the Greek texts of the parallels in Barnabas, the Canons and Constitutions; Dr. Schaff in not discussing the critical questions more fully. As it is, neither book is complete, and the English-speaking student should purchase both.

Benj. B. Warfield.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ALLEGHANY, PA.

*American Men of Letters.* Nathaniel Parker Willis. By Henry A. Beers. 16mo, pp. 365. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1885. \$1.25. This Life is



given with a temperate, even pen, ready to be stirred to enthusiasm if it lights on anything inspiring it, but finding nothing requiring more than a placid and somewhat melancholy interest, in a highly gifted and graceful mind and character, whose epitaph might be summed up in one word, Almost. Almost lovable, almost estimable, almost a genius, almost a Christian. If not in any true sense a power, the biography sets him forth in sufficient and not excessive fullness as what he certainly was, an influence, and that for a number of years in two countries, and more, and not an influence working against good. There is, therefore, sufficient reason why his memory should be cherished with a certain tenderness by Andover, "the silver thread of whose Shawsheen" he has helped to make classic.

Charles C. Starbuck.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

*Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.* The First Napoleon. A Sketch, Political and Military. By John Codman Ropes, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, The Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, etc., etc. Crown 8vo, pp. xx., 347. 1885. \$2.00; — Italian Popular Tales. By Thomas Frederick Crane, A. M., Professor of the Romance Languages in Cornell University. 8vo, pp. xxviii., 389. 1885. \$2.50; — Bird-Ways. By Olive Thorne Miller. Pp. viii., 227. 1885. \$1.25.

*Cupples, Upham & Co.* Mind-Cure on a Material Basis. By Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb, author of "Early New England People." Pp. 288. 1885.

*Carl Schoenhof, Boston.* Der Korrektor. Scenen aus dem Schattenspiele des Lebens vorgeführt von Heinrich Steinhausen (Verfasser von "Irmela"). Vierte Auflage. Pp. 209. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann. 1885; — Missionsstunden. Von R. M. Dietet, Pfarrer in Mülsen St. Jacob. II. Heft, pp. 148. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann; — Das Buch Hiob nach Luther und der Proheibibel aus dem Grundtext bearbeitet und mit Bemerkungen versehen von Viktor Böttcher, Pastor in Pretzschendorf. Pp. 72. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann.

*Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.* Lyrics and other Poems. By Richard Watson Gilder. I. Lyrics and Hymns. II. Ballads. III. Sonnets. IV. Odes and Meditative Poems. V. The New Day. 12mo, pp. xii., 251. \$1.75.

*Benjamin F. Lacy, Philadelphia.* Poems. By James Willsbro. Pp. vi., 119. 1885. \$1.00.

*S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago.* Natural Theology; or Rational Theism. By M. Valentine, D. D., Ex-President of Pennsylvania College, and Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Pp. iv., 270. 1885. \$1.25.

*The Block Publishing and Printing Company, Cincinnati.* History of the Arguments for the Existence of God. By Aaron Hahn, Rabbi of the Tifereth Israel Congregation, Cleveland, Ohio. Pp. 205. 1885.

*Pamphlets.* In Memoriam, William Hutchison. An abstract of the Extempore Remarks by Rev. Nelson Millard, D. D., at the funeral of Professor William Hutchison, in Broadway Church, at Norwich, Conn., January 12, 1885. Pp. 35. — The Old South Leaflets. Third Series, 1885. Boston: Old South Meeting House. 1885.



Christmas, 1885.

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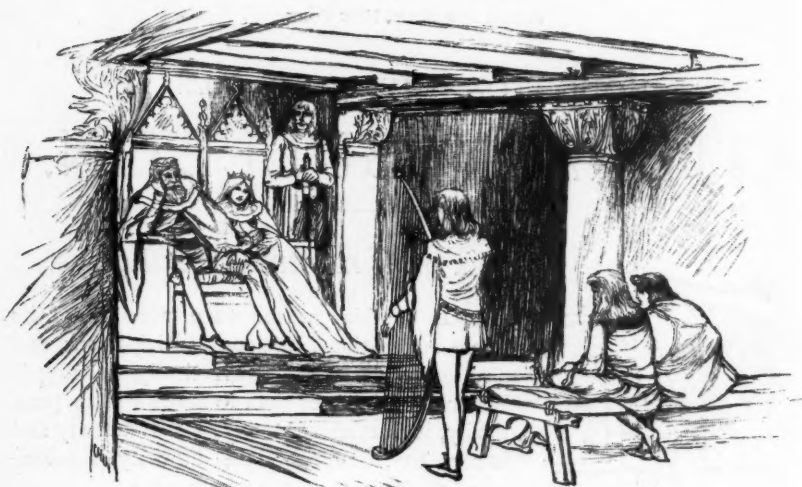
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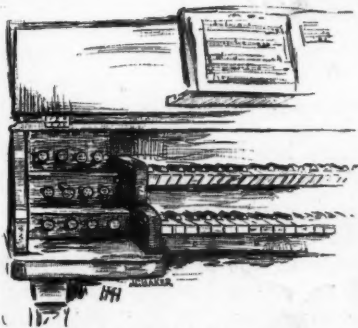


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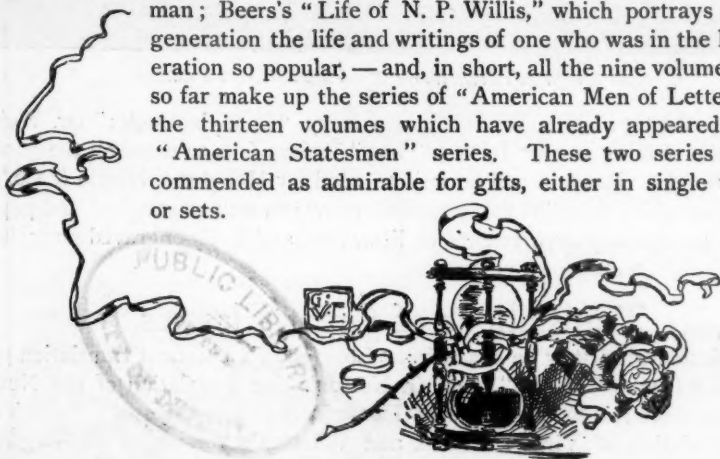
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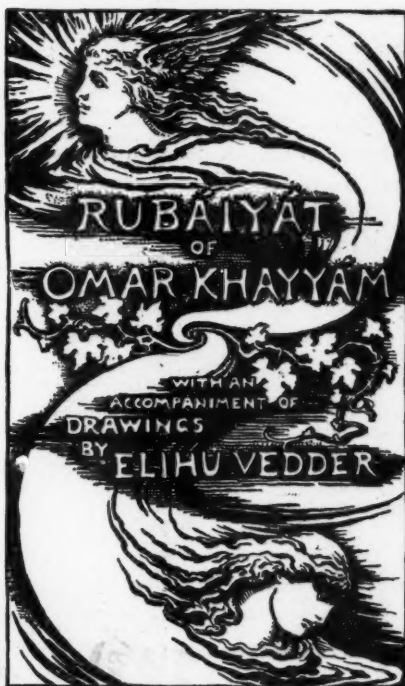
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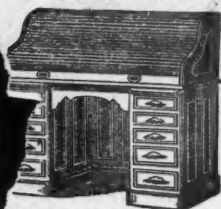
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